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Manuscript accidentals in the music of Guillaume de Machaut

Vlcek, Hannah Paulette

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MANUSCRIPT ACCIDENTALS
IN THE MUSIC OF
GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

VOLUME I

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MANUSCRIPT ACCIDENTALS IN THE MUSIC OF GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

ABSTRACT

Of the many classes of variant found among sources of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century music, accidentals were particularly vulnerable to scribal preference and thus to alteration during copying: although musicians were trained to infer unwritten inflections from notated accidentals and musical context, there existed a certain amount of leeway for different choices of inflection. In addition to changes made according to taste, accidentals might be sparingly marked where a source was intended for well-trained performers, but added by a scribe or editor where performers were unfamiliar with the style of the music in question, for example through geographical or chronological distance. This is particularly true of the music of Machaut, whose sometimes unconventional treatment of counterpoint often presented scribes with unfamiliar situations. However, because the copying of the manuscripts of Machaut's collected works was controlled to an unusual degree, it becomes possible to compare accidentals and suggest reasons for the differences in scribal practice. More problematic are the variant readings of Machaut's chansons found in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century anthologies, whose scribes were outside Machaut's immediate circle and could not benefit from proximity to his exemplars, or knowledge of his editing procedures. These later and more distant sources illustrate the ways in which his music was performed during the years after his death – some suggesting a concern to preserve the inflections of the Machaut manuscripts, others adding new or alternative voices which could affect or alter the contrapuntal framework of those central readings. By examining in detail variants among accidentals across the full spectrum of surviving sources, it is possible to illuminate both the practice of copying and performing written and unwritten inflections, and also the reception of Machaut's music well into the fifteenth century.

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VOLUME II

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

SIGLA OF MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS

Central Machaut manuscripts:

F-Pn 1584	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, MS 1584	A
F-Pn 1585	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, MS 1585	B
F-Pn 1586	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, MS 1586	C
F-Pn 9221	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, MS 9221	E
F-Pn 22545-6	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, MS 22545-6	F-G
US-NYw	<i>olim</i> New York, Wildenstein Collection	Vg

Other sources:

B-Gr 133	Ghent, Rijksarchief, Groenen Briel, MS 133	
B-Gr 3360	Ghent, Rijksarchief Varia, MS D.3360	Gt
B-TOa 490	Tongeren, Stadsarchief, fonds Begijnhof, MS 490	Tg
CH-BEsu 218	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 218	K
CS-Pu XI E 9	Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS XI e 9	Pg
D-Nst lat. 9-9a	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. III, 25	Nur
F-CA 1328	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS B.1328	CaB
F-CH 564	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, MS 564	Ch
F-Pa 5203	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5203	J
F-Pn 146	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146	Fauv
F-Pn 6771	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. fr., MS 6771	PR
F-Pn 23190	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr., MS 23190 (index only)	Trém
F-Pn it. 568	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds italien, MS 568	Pit
F-Sm 222	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 222.C.22	Str
GB-AB 5010C	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 5010C	W
GB-Cmc Pepys 1236	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 1236	Pe
GB-Lbl 29987	London, British Library, Add. MS 29987	Lo
GB-Lbl 41667	London, British Library, Add. MS 41667(I)	
GB-Ob 213	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Can. Misc. 213	Ox
GB-Ob 229	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. Pat. Lat. 229	PadA
I-CO	Cortona, fragment without shelfmark	Ct
I-Fl 87	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Med. Pal. 87	Sq

I-Fl 2211	Florence, Bibl. Medicea-Laurenziana, Archivio, Capitolare di San Lorenzo, MS 2211	SL
I-Fn 26	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panc. 26	FP
I-FZc 117	Faenza, Biblioteca comunale, MS 117	Fa
I-GR 197	Grottaferrata, Badia Greca, MS Coll. provvisoria 197	Gr
I-IV 115	Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 115	Iv
I-Las 184	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Manoscritti, MS 184	Lu
I-MOe α.M.5.24	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α.M.5.24	ModA
I-PAas 75	Parma, Archivio di Stato, Frammento, Busta 75	Parma
I-Pu 684	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 684	PadA
I-Pu 1475	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1475	PadA
I-Rvat 215	Rome, Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossi 215	Rs
NL-Lu 2720	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS B.P.L. 2720	
NL-Uu 1846 (olim 37)	Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS 6 E 37 II	Utr
US-Nypm 396	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 396	Pm

EDITORIAL NOTES TO MUSIC EXAMPLES AND TEXT

1. The great majority of ‘sharps’ (b-*mi* signs) in the Machaut manuscripts are written in this way: #; the few cases in which they are not – for example, where they appear similar to a present-day natural sign \natural – have been noted in the text. ‘Flats’ (b-*fa* signs) are subject to even less variation in the Machaut manuscripts. In general, the various shapes of sharps and flats in repertory sources have not been noted. In theoretical writings, however, the signs b-*quadratum*, \flat , and b-*molle*, \flat , have been given as they appear in the editions consulted.
2. Accidentals shown on the stave in music examples have been given at the pitch of the manuscript in question, even where this appears to be inaccurate or questionable; where the source is unclear, the manuscript's placing has been followed as closely as possible.
3. When cited in the text, accidentals have been notated as, for example, #-f to signify a b-*mi* sign in the F line or space, or \flat -e to signify a b-*fa* sign on the E line or space. *F-sharp* (for example) is used to indicate the pitch-class rather than the sign.
4. Because both b-*fa* and b-*mi* are included in the gamut, the notation of # preceding pitch-class B does not indicate the equivalent of the present-day B-natural raised by a semitone (B-sharp). Such #s have, however, been shown because of their influence on the solmization of surrounding pitches. A similar argument applies to manuscript #s notated in front of pitch-class E.
5. In music examples, new staves have been shown thus: \downarrow . Where the source notates a ‘bar line’, often indicating a structural point such as an *ouvert/clos* ending or the end of a section, the following sign has been used: \Downarrow .
6. Manuscript signatures have been shown at the pitch given in the manuscript, thus: $\downarrow\flat$. Occasionally a manuscript signature appears still to be relevant (in a tenor part, for instance) although the beginning of the stave does not come within the music example: in such cases the signature is given in parentheses at the beginning of the excerpt.
7. All accidentals above the stave are editorial:

- (a) Those not in brackets or parentheses clarify contrapuntal progressions or indicate vertical corrections which, I suggest, would be made by fourteenth-century performers as a matter of course.
- (b) Those in brackets [♭] are cautionary – notated, for example, to cancel a preceding inflection.
- (c) Those in parentheses (♭) indicate editorial suggestions only, rather than definite recommendations; they have been used where it seems likely that the use of an inflection could have been left to the discretion of the performer.

However, where a manuscript accidental has been notated at the pitch of the note it inflects, no additional editorial clarification is given above the stave.

- 8. Ligatures are shown in music examples by horizontal brackets; no instances of coloration have been cited.
- 9. *Mensurstriche* have been used to indicate the metrical structure of the music, although time signatures have not been used.
- 10. Note values have been quartered.
- 11. The following abbreviations have been used: Tr – Triplum, Mo – Motetus, Ca – Cantus, T – Tenor, Ct – Contratenor.
- 12. In the text, pitches are given following the Helmholtz system; however, where the quoted sources give the Oddonian system, this is retained in the translations.
- 13. The numbering of Machaut's works follows Ludwig's edition.
- 14. Where translations from Latin are uncredited, they are my own – as, of course, are any errors.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to: Dr Alison Bullock, for generously allowing me the use of her transcriptions of variants in the Machaut manuscripts and thus making this study possible; Dr Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, for his patience, encouragement and forbearance; Dr John Caidwell and Dr Roger Wibberley for their comments and suggestions, which have greatly improved this thesis; Peter O'Neill for correcting my translations from Latin; David-McVie Paterson, for type-setting the music examples and wrestling with Finale; my friends, Kath and my parents for all their support over an exceptionally long time; and Paul, without whom this might have been finished very slightly sooner.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis was undertaken as one of a number of related studies at the University of Southampton under the supervision of Dr Daniel Leech-Wilkinson; these were Alison Bullock's *The variant readings of the Machaut manuscripts* (1998), Kimberly Connor's *Machaut's formes fixes: Towards a nidus for structure* (1999), and Natasha Coplestone-Crowe's *Philippe de Vitry and the development of the early fourteenth-century motet* (1996). Although my work was begun with an idea of searching for a 'solution' to anomalies in fourteenth-century notation of accidentals – and particularly in the Machaut manuscripts – it quickly became centred on scribal practice and its implications for the interpretation of manuscript accidentals. While this might usefully contribute to the work of an editor, providing a rationale for preferring some readings to others, my aim was more broadly to examine the way in which a work's notation might or might not become adapted over the time during which Machaut's music continued to be copied into music manuscripts, and to enquire into the reasons for such adaptation. Showing how (and how much) scribal decisions depended on changes in taste, for example, could provide editors with a rational basis for choosing readings according to the type of edition they aimed to produce, and could offer scholars of fourteenth and early-fifteenth century music an understanding of the way music changed during transmission that depended less on assumptions of individual scribal waywardness.

Previous studies of manuscript accidentals in Machaut's music have tended to focus on the interpretation of \flat (b-*fa*) and \sharp (b-*mi*) signs either in the context of the composer's musical language,¹ or of systems of tonal organisation, whether mode, hexachord or *contrapunctus*.² However, they have generally not dealt in detail with variants in the

¹ Examples include Cross 1990 and Brothers 1997.

² These include Hirshberg 1980 (focussing on mode), Allaire 1972 and Christian Berger 1992 (both mode and hexachord), and Fuller 1987 and 1992a (basing her analysis on *contrapunctus*).

notation of the signs themselves, either in the Machaut manuscripts or in other sources;³ yet these manuscripts offer near-ideal conditions for asking – and perhaps answering – much more focussed questions about scribal habit and its effect on the transmission of music. I decided, therefore, to examine these variants in Machaut’s ballades, rondeaux and virelais – concentrating on the polyphonic works – and to try to determine reasons for their presence. In most fourteenth-century sources, aspects of notation such as ligatures, text alignment, orthography, and presence and position of accidentals might all be modified by scribes; since, however, the Machaut manuscripts were copied with an unusual degree of accuracy and consistency, it seemed distinctly possible that explanations might be found for some of these variants. Could they, for example, be ascribed to divergent sources or, more simply, to the habits of a particular scribe? If the latter, what kinds of factors shaped the tastes and practices of scribes?

The thesis is thus a contribution to recent debates on the copying of the Machaut manuscripts, building in particular on the work of Lawrence Earp⁴ and Margaret Bent,⁵ most of all on the thesis of Alison Bullock, whose findings should ideally be taken together with mine. But it also relates closely to modern work on ‘accidentals’ and *musica ficta*, especially that of Bent⁶ and Karol Berger.⁷ Working simultaneously with, but independently of, Elizabeth Leach,⁸ I was able to take only limited account of her thesis at a late stage, though in my view counterpoint teaching is less deterministic of compositional or scribal practice than in Leach’s. I do believe that our approaches are broadly complementary, both tending to emphasise the necessity of reading Machaut’s notation in the light of scribal practices and his contrapuntal procedures. Ideally, all this work needs to be taken together, for it amounts, in total, to a very substantial enrichment of understanding

³ An exception is Jean Harden’s PhD dissertation *Sharps, Flats and Scribes: Musica ficta in the Machaut Manuscripts* (Cornell University, 1983); however, despite its title, it gives little information on scribal practice.

⁴ Earp 1983

⁵ Bent 1983

⁶ Bent 1972 and 1984

⁷ K Berger 1987

⁸ Leach 1998

of the operation of *musica ficta* in fourteenth-century French song.

The first three chapters of this thesis give an overview of the meaning and function of *b-fa* and *b-mi* signs, in theory and in the context of Machaut's polyphonic music. Chapter I presents a survey of the changing definitions and use of these signs, described by music theorists from the late thirteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries; evidence for the application of unwritten inflections and the use of *b-fa* signs as signatures is examined, as is current writing on the interpretation of manuscript accidentals. The role in *contrapunctus* of directed progressions, and consequently of inflections (written and unwritten), is discussed in Chapter II; the attitude to dissonance in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century theoretical writings, particularly those of Johannes Boen and Marchetto da Padova, is also examined, as is the practice of *contrapunctus diminutus* described by Petrus frater dictus Palma Ociola. In Chapter III, directed progressions and dissonance are viewed in the context both of Machaut's developing musical language and of the tonal organisation of his polyphonic chansons – in particular, the composer's subversion of standard directed progressions by means of expanded progressions, voice-leading and unorthodox resolutions, as well as the structural use of dissonance in Machaut's music.

Chapters IV to VII examine, in turn, the notation of accidentals in each of the central Machaut manuscripts: in each case, variants have been analysed to form a profile of the habits of the music scribe (or scribes), even when it has not been possible to distinguish between different scribal hands in the notation of accidentals. Once these 'habitual' variants have been taken into account, it may be possible, where a manuscript appears to have been copied from multiple sources, to discern traces of them. Chapter IV covers the differences in scribal practice between the earlier and later parts of **C** (**CI** and **CII**), and discusses the possibility that **CII** in particular may be closely related to Machaut's drafts. The following chapter examines the close relationship between **Vg** and **B**, and the extent of **Vg**'s editorial practice. **A**'s apparently close links to Machaut, and the nature of **F-G**'s sources – which

may have included discarded or early drafts of certain works – are discussed in Chapter VI. Chapter VII meanwhile examines **E**'s multiple sources – some of which may have been closely related to the composer, despite its apparent copying date of 1390, around thirteen years after the composer's death.

Finally, Chapter VIII examines the notation of accidentals in readings of Machaut's chansons occurring in anthologies of songs (repertory manuscripts), covering a period from the late-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries and a geographical range including the Low Countries, France and Italy; these readings include a very small number of surviving keyboard arrangements. The range of variants in these sources is much wider than in the central Machaut manuscripts, and may include new or substitute voices: taken in the context of the source manuscript, the variants found in a particular work can indicate that additional information had been notated to aid performers, and other modifications made in order to bring Machaut's music up-to-date, in line with changing musical tastes; in yet other cases, a lack of variants might suggest that a work was copied more for reasons of prestige than performance. In this way, it is possible to form an impression of the reception of Machaut's secular songs in the years following the composer's death.

PART I

THE THEORY OF ACCIDENTALS

1: Manuscript Accidentals – Definitions and Interpretations

1.1 *Musica falsa* and *musica ficta*

The signs today used to signify inflections of pitch – sharp, flat and natural – have their origin in the hexachord system described by Guido d’Arezzo, which divided the gamut into sections small enough to be easily committed to memory. A hexachord consisted of a semitone bound on either side by two whole tones, this being the largest section of the gamut to contain a single semitone; the tones were distinguished by the syllables *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol* and *la*, after a hymn in honour of St John the Baptist – beginning “*Ut queant laxis resonare fibris*”, the successive phrases of which began on these pitches – and were used to teach chants to choirs. To include all the notes of the gamut – which included *b-fa* (b-flat) and *b-mi* (b-natural), so that the tritone between B-natural and F could be avoided – three hexachords were needed: the hexachord *naturale*, beginning on C; *molle*, beginning on F and using *b-fa*; and *durum*, beginning on G and using *b-mi*. Notes occurring in more than one hexachord could be used to move from one to another, a procedure known as mutation. Thus, the symbols for *b-fa* – also called *b-rotundum* or *b-molle* – and *b-mi* – often termed *b-quadratum* or *b-durum* and written \flat – became associated primarily with pitch inflections. In sources of this time, they were also closely linked to the respective hexachords *molle* and *durum*; for example, Magister Lambertus wrote, c1270:

*Omne ut incipiens in C cantatur per naturam cum suis sequentibus; in F, per b-molle; in G, per \flat -durum.*¹

¹ *Tractatus de musica*, CS I 256a. Cousse-maker ascribed this treatise to “Quidam Aristoteles” following Jacques de Liège’s reference to its author as Aristotle, “an error that probably arose as a result of an

Every *ut* beginning [a scale] on C is sung in the natural hexachord; on F, in the soft hexachord; on G, in the hard hexachord.

However, the application of the signs *b-durum* and *b-molle* to a pitch other than B, and the subsequent creation of notes not included in the gamut, created a problem for theorists. The newly inflected pitches were felt to be opposed to the basic gamut (often termed *musica vera*), and were accordingly described as *falsa*. This was, in part, a result of the modal system, the prevailing means of tonal organisation during the thirteenth century: early theorists had explained the two inflections of the note B, in a modal context, as a means of avoiding ‘harsh’ intervals, primarily the tritone. From the description of *b-molle* given by one anonymous twelfth-century author, it is apparent that, despite its place in the gamut, the pitch B-flat was regarded by some with suspicion:

*Vocatur apud Graecos b rotundum sinemenon, hoc est accidens vel accidentale, quod est enim accidentale non est proprium, et quod non proprium est non est naturale. Inventum est autem b rotundum ad temperandum tritonum, qui super F naturaliter invenitur. Ubi enim cantus asperius sonat, b rotundum in loco b quadrati ad temperandum tritonum furtim interponitur, sed ubi cantus ad suam naturam recurrerit statim debet auferri.*²

Among the Greeks, *b rotundum* is called the *sinemenon*, which is something accidental or inessential; for what is accidental is not proper, and what is not proper is not natural. However, *b rotundum* is used to temper the tritone which is normally found above F. For where a song sounds more harsh, *b rotundum* is placed surreptitiously in the place of *b quadratum*, to temper the tritone; but where the song returns to its nature, it must be at once removed.³

One of the earliest uses of the word *falsa* in relation to the idea of unorthodox solmization was in an anonymous twelfth-century treatise, where it referred – in the context of plainsong – to inflections of e-flat and f-sharp:

*Musica falsa solet his binas addere voces.
Namque per hanc e-la-mi b-fa suscipit, ut b-fa b-mi;*

anonymous copy of Lambertus’s treatise following a work ascribed to Aristotle” (Rebecca A. Baltzer, *New Grove* 2001, 14:159).

² “An anonymous treatise from St Martial”, ed. Seay 1957, 32-33

³ ‘Among the Greeks’: Greek theorists, particularly Boethius (d. c524), were frequently invoked by authors wishing to provide a historical context for their writings; an example can be found in Anonymous II’s *Tractatus de discantu* (see below, 58).

*f-fa-ut inde suis b-mi quadrum vocibus addit.*⁴

Musica falsa customarily adds two syllables to these [other ones]; thus *e-la-mi* receives *b-fa*, as if it were *b-fa b-mi*; similarly, *f-fa-ut* adds square *b-mi* to its own syllables.

However, this practice was not regarded with approval:

*Has falsas claves cantus lascivia praebet,
falsa cum clavis veram de sede repellit.*⁵

It is wantonness in singing that leads to these false notes in song;
since a false note drives a true one from its place.

This negative view prevailed throughout much of the thirteenth century, illustrated by writers such as Elias Salomon in the *Scientia artis musicae* of 1274:

*Falsa musica nihil aliud est, quam falsus musicus falsa mugiens;... aut quod falsum cantum imponat ille, qui fingit se excellentem in musica, et ex caecitate artis ignorantiae, vel quasi minus diligens est vel lascivus.*⁶

False music is nothing other than an untrustworthy musician bellowing errors; ... he imposes this false song who pretends to be excellent in music – either from blindness caused by ignorance of the art, or because he is less diligent or is frivolous.

However, as Joseph Dyer remarked, “Salomon easily outdistances all other theorists of the Middle Ages in the ramifications he attaches to the term *falsa musica*.”⁷ A less judgmental attitude emerged towards the end of the century, as the usage *falsa musica* became specifically associated with pitch alteration, rather than incompetent singing, conceded to be necessary to the avoidance of tritones. Magister Lambertus emphasised the need for such inflections:

Nunc autem oritur questio quid vel que sit necessitas in musica regulari de falsa musica, seu de falsa mutatione. Cum enim nullum regulare debeat accipere

⁴ MS Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pal. Lat. 1346 f. 2-3', cited Sydow-Saak 1991

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ GS III, 61a

⁷ Dyer 1980, 94. Dyer pointed out that Salomon's negative attitude to inflection took place within a discussion of monophony: the appropriate section was headed *De doctrina falsae musicae, qualiter debeat evitari* ("Concerning the principles of *falsa musica*: how it ought to be avoided"), while Salomon recommended that a good musician avoid "erroneous insertion of chromatic inflections ... – the sharpening of F, G, C and D, and the use of E-flat" (Dyer, 92).

*falsum, sed potius verum, ad hoc dicendum est quid mutatio sive falsa musica non est inutilis, immo necessaria propter consonantiam bonam inveniendam.*⁸

Now the question arises of what is the necessity of *falsa musica*, or false mutation, in regular music. Although nothing regular should receive anything false, it must not be said that false mutation is useless; indeed, it is necessary in order to find good consonances.

The passage subsequently describes the alteration of a diminished fifth to a perfect interval by means of a *b-fa* sign – the principal justification of *falsa musica* given by theorists of the late thirteenth century. Clearly, this was linked to the rise of polyphonic forms – conductus, organum, and motet having been mentioned by Lambertus – which would require such vertical corrections. The author also highlighted the changing perception of *b-fa* and *b-mi* as signs denoting not only the repositioning of semitones, but the movement of hexachords: *falsa mutatio* – in other words, a mutation to a transposed hexachord – was given as a synonym for *falsa musica*. This contrasted with the view implicit in the anonymous twelfth-century treatise, cited above, which referred to the solmization of an isolated note, rather than denoting the transposition of an entire hexachord. (This passage was subsequently paraphrased in two sources: the *Tractatus de musica*, c1300, published as Anonymous II by Coussemaker; and the *Ars Nova*, dating from between c1315 and 1325.)⁹

⁸ CS I, 258a

⁹ The two passages read as follows:

Et ideo oritur questio ex hoc quod videlicet que fuit necessitas in musica considerari de falsa musica, sive de falsa mutatione, cum nullum regulare debeat accipere falsum, sed potius verum. Ad quod est dicendum quod mutatio falsa, sive falsa musica non est inutilis, imo est necessaria propter bonam consonantiam inveniendam et malam vitandam.

(Anonymous II – *Tractatus de discantu*, ed. and trans. Seay 1978, 28-29/ CS I, 310b)

Et ideo oritur quaestio ex hoc videlicet quae fuit necessitas in musica regulari de falsa musica sive de falsa mutatione, cum nullum regulare debeat accipere falsum sed potius verum. Ad quod dicendum est quod mutatio falsa sive falsa musica non est inutilis, immo est necessaria propter bonam consonantiam inveniendam et malam vitandam. ... Tamen, in illis locis ubi ista signa requiruntur, [sunt], ut superius dictum est, non falsa sed vera et necessaria. Quia nullus motetus sive rondellus sine ipsa cantari possunt, et ideo vera.

(*Ars Nova*, ed. Reaney 1964, 22-23)

The *Ars Nova* text is clearly closer to Anonymous II than to Lambertus – which is not unexpected, given its later date; in adapting this passage to modern needs, the *Ars Nova* specifically mentions the role of *falsa musica* in motets and rondeaux. (The one place in which it matches Lambertus rather than Anonymous II is in its use of *regulari* rather than *considerari*.)

From the late thirteenth century onward, theorists also discussed *falsa* and *recta musica* as paired opposites: the *Compendium discantus*, attributed to Franco of Cologne,¹⁰ was among the first to do so:

*Et quando per rectam musicam consonantias utiles habere non poterit, falsam fingat, sicut placeat.*¹¹

And when it is not possible to have useful consonances through true music, let him fashion false music just as it may please.

By the turn of the fourteenth century, the emphasis was upon the *effect* of *b-fa* and *b-mi* signs – the latter written either as \flat or as \sharp , signs widely regarded as interchangeable – that of making a tone into a semitone. This was summed up by Johannes de Grocheo in *De musica*, c1300:

*Moderni vero propter descriptionem consonantiarum et stantipedum et ductiarum aliud addiderunt, quod falsam musicam vocaverunt, quia illa duo signa, scilicet b et \flat , quae in *b-fa b-mi* tonum et semitonum designabant, in omnibus aliis faciunt hoc designare, ita quod, ubi erat semitonum, per \flat illum ad tonum ampliant, ut bona concordantia vel consonantia fiat, et similiter, ubi tonus inveniebatur, illum per b ad semitonum restringunt.*¹²

Truly, the moderns – on account of the arrangement of consonances in *estampies* and *ductiae* – added something which they called *falsa musica*, because those two signs, namely b and \flat , which in *b-fa b-mi* designated a tone or a semitone, they cause to mean this in all other [positions]; so that where there was a semitone, they enlarge it to a tone by means of \flat to make a good concord or consonance; and similarly, where a tone was found, they reduce it to a semitone by means of b .

This author also pointed out that mode – used by some twentieth-century scholars in their interpretation of accidentals in both sacred and secular music – was not relevant to secular composition:

Describunt autem tonum quidam dicentes eum esse regulam, quae de omni cantu in fine iudicat. Sed isti videntur multipliciter peccare. Cum enim dicunt de omni cantu, videntur cantum civilem et mensuratum includere. Cantus autem iste per toni regulas forte non vadit nec per eas mensuratur.

¹⁰ The attribution to Franco is not entirely certain: see Hughes 2001, *New Grove* 9:199.

¹¹ CS I, 156b

¹² Johannes de Grocheo, ed. Rohloff 1967, 128. The *stantipes* (Fr. *estampie*) and *ductia* were dance forms, referred to elsewhere in the treatise.

Some people describe mode as a rule that judges all song at its end. But those appear to err in manifold ways. When they say all song, they seem to include secular song and polyphony. But such music neither proceeds by rules of mode nor is governed by them.¹³

The first sign of an additional reason for using *musica falsa* appeared in the *Tractatus de musica*, in a passage introducing both the *causa necessitatis* – that is, the need to perfect diminished or augmented intervals – and the *causa pulchritudinis*:

Fuit autem inventa falsa musica propter duas causas, scilicet, causa necessitatis et causa pulchritudinis cantus per se.

False music has been invented, also, for two reasons, that is, because of necessity, and because of the beauty of an individual melody.¹⁴

However, though the *causa necessitatis* was explained, the *causa pulchritudinis* was merely mentioned here.¹⁵ Similarly, the contemporary treatise *De cantu mensurabili* (Anonymous III of CS I) demonstrated only the *causa necessitatis* :

Quintum de b-mi, est in F-fa-ut, gravi per falsam musicam; et duplum suum in b-fa, ♭-mi acuto.
*Et scire debemus quod quando volumus quintum facere super ♭-mi, oportet facere falsam musicam in F-fa-ut gravi, et dicere mi, et ponere signum quadratum sic formatum ♭, sicut patet in sequenti exemplo:*¹⁶

Ex 1.1 Anonymous III, *De cantu mensurabili*
CS I 324b

The fifth above b-*mi* is on low F-*fa-ut* using *falsa musica*[F#], likewise its octave in high b-*fa* b-*mi*.

And we must know that when we want to make a fifth above b-*mi*, it is necessary to make *falsa musica* on low F-*fa-ut*, and to sing *mi*, and put there the square sign formed thus ♭, as shown in the following example.

These references to the *causa pulchritudinis*, though brief, prefigured a new emphasis on inflections as part of the progressions that formed the basis of the *Ars nova*

¹³ Ibid., 152; trans. Fuller 1998b, 67n

¹⁴ *Anonymous II – Tractatus de discantu*, ed. and trans. Seay 1978, 32-33. This and the passage cited earlier occur in separate sections of the treatise, entitled, respectively, *Sequitur de falsa musica* and *De musica falsa*; Seay suggested that the compiler thought the first source insufficiently detailed and so added the second without attempting to integrate them.

¹⁵ This suggests either that the *causa pulchritudinis* was so well understood that it needed no explanation – which would be a little surprising given the early date of these writings and the general tendency of theory to lag behind composition – or that this use of inflection had not yet become widely known.

¹⁶ CS I, 324b

style; it was illustrated in the motets of the *Roman de Fauvel*, in which the ‘double-leading-note cadence’, with sharpened fourth and seventh degrees, became a fundamental part of the musical language.¹⁷

The theorist Marchetto da Padova was the first to approach the problem of *falsa musica* at least partly from this point of view. However, while the inflections illustrated in his *Lucidarium planae musice* (written around 1317 or 1318) were given in the context of directed progressions, ♭ and # signs were introduced, in more traditional fashion, in a section discussing mutation between hexachords:

Signa autem quibus nobis innuitur permutationem facere sunt tria, scilicet ♯ quadrum, b rotundum, et aliud signum quod a vulgo falsa musica nominatur, de quibus videre oportet. Prima namque duo signa, scilicet ♯ et b, sunt, vel esse possunt, in quolibet cantu, plano ac etiam mensurato; tertium vero signum solum in cantu ponitur mensurato, vel in plano qui aut colorate cantatur aut in mensuratum transit, puta in tenoribus motetorum seu aliorum cantuum mensuratorum.

The signs that tell us to make a permutation are three, the square ♯, the round b, and another sign commonly called *falsa musica*. We must examine these: the first two signs, the square ♯ and the round b, occur, or can occur, in any piece whether plain or measured; but the third sign is employed only in a piece that is measured or in plainchant that either is sung with colour [i.e., with chromatic alteration] or crosses over into measured music – for instance, in the tenors of motets or other polyphonic compositions.¹⁸

¹⁷ These and other directed progressions are discussed in the following chapter.

¹⁸ *Lucidarium*, ed. Herlinger, 272-281. Marchetto proposed a separate sign for these progressions of *falsa musica*, keeping b-*quadratum* – drawn with an additional *cauda* on the right and thus looking rather like a modern natural sign – for the correction of tritones; this ‘other sign’, reserved for *falsa musica*, was a mirror image of the b-*quadratum*. (This differentiation between signs evidently did not gain practical usage.) To avoid the negative implications of the term *musica falsa* in a usage Marchetto considered essential to current musical style, he preferred to call this ‘third sign’ *musica colorata*, as he explained in his later theoretical work, the *Pomerium*:

Cum igitur tale signum repertum in musica ad pulchriores consonantias reperiendas et faciendas, et falsum, in quantum falsum semper sumatur in mala parte potius quam in bona (quod enim falsum est de se, nunquam bonum est), ideo salva reverentia aliorum, dicimus quod magis deberet et proprius nominari musica colorata quam falsa.

(*Pomerium*, ed. Vecchi 1961, 68)

Since, therefore, that sort of sign is found in music in order to discover and make more beautiful consonances; and since that which is false is always assumed to be in bad part rather than in good (because what is false in itself is never good); therefore, to preserve the respect of others we have said that [this sign] should be more properly called *musica colorata* than *falsa*.

Unusually, the *Lucidarium* also gave meticulous instructions about the notation of b-*mi* and b-*fa* signs; for example, “If the round b should apply to notes placed in a space, let the white inside its loop be placed in the middle of the space”.¹⁹

The importance of *falsa musica* to polyphonic music, both sacred and secular, was emphasised elsewhere – not only in Marchetto’s instructions, but, for example, in one of the most significant treatises of the time, the *Ars Nova* (attributed in fourteenth-century sources to the composer Philippe de Vitry).²⁰ This described, first, the use of accidentals in correcting vertical intervals, clearly necessary to polyphonic compositions:

*Nam ita est quod aliquando per falsam musicam facimus semitonium ubi non debet esse. Nam in mensurabili musica illud videmus quod tenor alicuius moteti vel rondelli stat in b-fa b-mi, dicendo per b-durum, tunc accipientem in diapente superius suum biscantum, oportet dicere mi in f acuto, et sic per falsam musicam.*²¹

This is wherever, through *falsa musica*, we make a semitone where one should not be. In measured music, when we see that the tenor of certain motets or rondeaux stands in the pitch b-*fa* b-*mi*, sung using the hard b [i.e., as B-natural], then the discant at the fifth above must be sung as *mi* [i.e., F#]; and that is through *falsa musica*.

The date of this work (thought to have been written between 1315 and 1325) coincided with the spread of a new system of notation, described today as *ars nova*, which enabled composers to employ rapidly changing sonorities; treatises soon appeared instructing musicians in a new compositional strategy, *contrapunctus*.²² The treatise *Ars Nova*, though predating *contrapunctus* treatises and not itself discussing counterpoint, cited motets of the *Roman de Fauvel* which contained the progressions fundamental to the fourteenth-century style.

One of the earliest *contrapunctus* treatises was that of Petrus frater dictus Palma ocosa: in the *Compendium de discantu mensurabili* of 1336, he explained that a

¹⁹ *Lucidarium*, ed. Herlinger 1985, 277.

²⁰ Sarah Fuller cast considerable doubt upon this attribution, pointing out that no single, complete exemplar exists for the treatise: “If no integral representative of the work survives, the hypothesis that Philippe de Vitry did write an *Ars Nova* must rely on circumstantial evidence.” (Fuller 1985, 28)

²¹ *Ars Nova*, CSM VIII, ed. Reaney et al 1964, 22

²² The passage in the *Ars Nova* dealing with *falsa musica* has been discussed above (17n9) in its similarity to Magister Lambertus and Anonymous II. *Contrapunctus* is discussed in the following chapter.

semitone, moved to a new location by one of the signs of *falsa musica*, could be used to ‘perfect’ intervals. Unlike earlier authors, however, he did not refer only to fifths and octaves; rather, he included the inflection of imperfect consonances – thirds and sixths – in this usage, since one of the main principles of *contrapunctus* was that an imperfect consonance should approach its resolution as closely as possible. For example, a sixth before an octave should be major, a third before a unison minor, and so on:

*Detractato de simplici discantu et de eius speciebus modo restat detractandum de falsa musica. Unde primo notandum est, quod omnis species discantus, excepto unisono ... quandoque reperitur imperfecta propter defectum semitonii, et tunc oportet necessario, quod per falsam musicam perficiatur.*²³

Having dealt with simple discant and its intervals, it remains to discuss *falsa musica*. It must first be noted that all intervals used in discant, except the unison, are sometimes found to be imperfect because they are missing a semitone, and thus it is necessary that they should be perfected by *falsa musica*.

Petrus followed this with examples of such progressions: these and similar formulae, given as musical examples or described in prose, became the basis of *contrapunctus* teaching, and defined the standard musical language for most of the fourteenth century.

The use of manuscript accidentals to raise and lower pitch was limited by the doctrine that *fa* could not be further flattened nor *mi* further sharpened: in other words, one could not write B-sharp or B-double-flat. This was described by Johannes Boen in his *Musica* of 1357: standard practice, which he referred to as that of “the ancients” (*antiqui*), lagged behind his own theories. His explanation for this ‘old’ practice – based on combinations of major and minor semitones – accorded with his own subsequent ideas on permitted intervals:

Non liceat poni b-mi litteram in clave b-mi nec in e-la-mi aut in octavis, id est duplis, ad istas, nisi in casu, quo b-fa littera in eisdem clavibus precessisset, quod tunc liceret, ut effectus littere b-fa precedentis per litteram b-mi extingueretur. Ratione suadente, quia c-fa-ut et f-fa-ut cum duplis suis faciunt cum dictis clavibus semitonium minus; quareque non liceat poni b-fa litteram in c-fa-ut vel in f-fa-ut nec in duplis ad istas propter causam iam dictam.

²³ Edition given in Wolf 1913-14

One may not put the letter *b-mi* in the clef *b-mi* nor in *e-la-mi* nor in their octaves, unless the letter *b-fa* had preceded in the same clefs, in which case it is permitted in order that the effect of the preceding letter *b-fa* be cancelled through the letter *b-mi*. The convincing reason is that *c-fa-ut* and *f-fa-ut* and their octaves make a minor semitone with the said notes; and for the same reason one may not put the letter *b-fa* in *c-fa-ut* nor in *f-fa-ut* or in their octaves.²⁴

Boen's own opinions were rather different: he maintained that the pitch-class C-natural *could* be further lowered (in modern terms, C could become C-flat) and E-natural could be raised (to become the equivalent of the modern E-sharp). This remained a theoretical position, however: no C-flats, F-flats, E-sharps or B-sharps – in the modern sense – existed in even the most experimental fourteenth-century songs; Solage's ballade *Fumeux fume*, one of the most chromatic, went no further than the notation of D-flat and G-flat (though the interpretation of these signs continues to be debated).²⁵ However, double sharps and double flats were not permitted by Boen, since two major semitones could not be fitted into one whole tone. As Karol Berger pointed out, this revealed Boen's forward-looking view of semitones: rather than seeing them in terms of solmization syllables, and reasoning – as did the *antiqui* – that *fa* could not be lowered any further, “this suggests that Boen thought about these problems ... in terms of the actual visual appearance of the staff notation”,²⁶ a decidedly modern view.

As *contrapunctus* progressions became the accepted basis of fourteenth-century musical language, theorists showed a dissatisfaction with the usual terms – not only with *falsa*, but with *ficta*, and its connotation of artificiality. Their solution was to integrate the new, inflected pitches into a system of transposed hexachords, thus legitimising the unusual position of the new semitones; these repositioned hexachords were termed *coniunctae*. The anonymous author of the Berkeley treatises (c1375) was amongst the first to describe this, using the term *coniuncta* to express a transposed hexachord; the resulting inflections were, he implied, “acceptable transpositions” (“*ad regularitatem*”):²⁷

²⁴ Johannes Boen, ed. Frobenius 1971, 62; translation after Berger 1985-86, 415.

²⁵ An edition of the song is given in Lefferts 1988.

²⁶ Berger 1985-86, 414

²⁷ Though the manuscript, University of California MS 744 (*olim* Phillipps 4450) consists of five separate treatises, its editor and translator Oliver Ellsworth regards them all as the work of a single author, although others have preferred to use the name linked to a source of the third treatise, Goscalcus (Ellsworth 1984, 13).

Hiis igitur una cum infrascriptis exemplis diligenter consideratis, potest unusquisque voces cuiuscumque cantus discernere easque secundum rationem debite iudicare, nisi forsitan intervenerit aliquis inusitatus cantus, quem aliqui sed male falsam musicam appellant, alii fictam musicam, alii vero coniunctas eum nominant et bene. Est enim quasi coniunctus proprietatibus regularibus supradictis. Et propterea invente fuerunt ipse coniuncte ut cantus antedictus irregularis per eas ad regularitatem quodammodo duci posset.

When these matters are considered carefully, together with the examples written below, anyone can distinguish the syllables of any song and judge them as bound by reason, unless by chance some unusual song should turn up, which some call – but wrongly – *musica falsa*, others *musica ficta*; still others name it – and rightly – *coniunctae*. It is like a connection by the aforesaid regular hexachords. And so these *coniunctae* have been invented so that a song formerly called irregular could be brought into regularity by them in some manner.²⁸

Prior to this the author had explained that *b-fa* and *b-mi* signs were associated primarily with the *molle* and *durum* hexachords but, as indications of the syllables *fa* or *mi*, could be “placed in different locations in the hand”:²⁹

Sunt etiam quamplures cantus ecclesiastici et alii qui omnes has in se proprietates amplectuntur. Unde cuiuslibet deduccionis cantus habens originem in C cantatur per naturam, in F per b, in G per #. Circa hec sciendum est quod in cantu inveniuntur duo signa, scilicet signum B mollis et signum B quadrati, demonstrancia ubi fa et mi debeant cantari, et possunt poni in diversis locis manus.

There are also a great many songs, ecclesiastical and otherwise, which all embrace these properties [i.e., hexachords] in themselves. A song in any hexachord at all originating on C is therefore sung in natural form, on F with a b, and on G with a #. In regard to these things, it must be known that two signs are found in song – the sign B mollis and the sign B quadratum – which show where fa and mi ought to be sung; they can be placed in different locations in the hand.³⁰

In this way, a large number of inflections were given the legitimacy of belonging to a transposed hexachord: the Berkeley treatise listed the transposed hexachords containing A-flat, C-sharp, E-flat, F-sharp, a-flat, c-sharp, e-flat, f-sharp, a-flat and c-sharp.³¹ Other writers disagreed on the precise number: Coussemaker’s Anonymous XI.

²⁸ Ibid., 50-51

²⁹ The “hand” refers to the mnemonic attributed to Guido d’Arezzo, placing hexachord syllables at different points on a diagram of the hand, to illustrate mutations between hexachords.

³⁰ Berkeley, ed. Ellsworth 1984, 44-45

³¹ Ibid., 54-67. The author states that B-flat is the lowest *coniuncta* “secundum usum communem” (54); however, since this note is already accommodated within his enlarged gamut “secundum artem”, it does not qualify as a *coniuncta* in his system.

the author of the mid-fifteenth-century *Tractatus de musica plana et mensurabili*, who allowed only eight *coniunctae*, defined them thus:

*Quid est conjuncta? Cui respondendum est, quod conjuncta, secundum vocem hominis vel instrumenti, est facere de tono semitonium et a converso de semitono tonum; nam in eo loco in quo solebat esse semitonium per conjunctam sumitur tonus.*³²

What is a *conjuncta*? To which it must be replied that, in vocal or instrumental music, a *conjuncta* is that which makes a semitone from a tone, and conversely, a tone from a semitone; for in the place where a semitone should be, through a *conjuncta* a tone can be placed.

This treatise illustrates, in its listing of semitones, the gradual narrowing of the gulf between notes in the gamut and out of it: gamut semitones – those between E and F, and B-natural and C – are grouped with those formed by *coniunctae* (such as D to E-flat) without being distinguished from them.

The more conservative among fifteenth-century theorists, however, represented a consolidation of late-fourteenth century attitudes: two of the most significant were Prosdocimus de Beldomandis and Ugolino d'Orvieto. In the *Tractatus de contrapuncto* of 1412 Prosdocimus presented the rules of *contrapunctus* in terms that would not have been unfamiliar to Petrus dictus Palma ocosa, including a discussion of *ficta musica*:

Item sciendum quod signa huius fite musice sunt duo, scilicet b rotundum sive molle et quadrum sive durum, que duo signa nobis demonstrant vocum fictionem in loco ubi tales voces esse non possunt, unde ubicumque ponitur b rotundum sive molle dicere debemus hanc vocem fa, et ubicumque ponitur b-quadrum sive durum dicere debemus hanc vocem mi, sive tales voces ibidem sint sive non.

It must be known, too, that the signs of *musica ficta* are two, round or soft b and square or hard b. These two signs show us the feigning of syllables in a location where such syllables cannot be; wherever round or soft b is applied, we ought to sing the syllable *fa*, and wherever square or hard b is applied, we ought to sing the syllable *mi*, whether or not these syllables are in those places.³³

Prosdocimus gave unusually specific instructions about the placing of such signs; this passage, recalling Marchetto's explanation of the same subject, suggests a

³² CS III, 426a-b

³³ *Contrapunctus*, ed. Herlinger 1984, 74-77

specifically Italian theoretical tradition (albeit one that was not always followed by scribes):³⁴

Scias tamen quod quando hec signa ponuntur propter aliquam consonantiam colorandam, semper poni debent immediate ante notam que in voce propter talem consonantiam colorandam varianda est, sive talis nota sit in tenore sive in discantu.

You should know that when these signs are applied in order to color some consonance, they ought always to be applied just before the note whose syllable is to be changed in order to color the consonance, whether the note be in the tenor or the discant.³⁵

Prosdocius's justification for the use of *musica ficta* appealed to the senses rather than to abstract concepts: in this, too, he reflected Marchetto's opinion:

Debes tunc facere ipsam per signa superius posita, de maiori minorem vel e contra, ... secundum quod oportet, cuius ratio non est alia quam dulcior armonia.

You should, by means of the signs posited above, make a major interval minor, or, contrariwise, a minor one major, ... as appropriate. There is no other reason for this than a sweeter-sounding harmony.³⁶

However, as Richard Crocker pointed out, this reasoning was not peculiar to Italian theorists: "Medieval writers, from John of Garland on, consistently invoke the judgement of the ear in discussing the degree of concord and discord."³⁷ Ugolino d'Orvieto's *Declaratio musicae disciplinae*, c1430, presented the same rules, giving essentially the same explanation for the definition and use of *musica ficta*:

*Sed talem musicam etiam in consonantiis imperfectis sive dissonantiis colorandis fingimus, causa vero fictionis huiusmodi duplex est, scilicet, causa harmoniae dulcioris habendae, et causa propinquioris perfectionis acquirendae.*³⁸

But the reason for *ficta* is twofold: in order to have sweeter harmony on imperfect consonances and also in order to colour a dissonant interval to bring it closer to perfection.³⁹

³⁴ *Lucidarium*, ed. Herlinger, 274-279

³⁵ *Contrapunctus*, ed. Herlinger, 78-79

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 82-83

³⁷ Crocker 1962, 4

³⁸ *Declaratio Musicae Disciplinae*, ed. Seay 1959-62, 2:47

³⁹ Translation: Hughes 1972, 31

Ugolino advised composers to use notes of the gamut in preference to *musica ficta* where possible; he too echoed the attention to detail in notating accidentals displayed by Marchetto and Prosdocimus.

Throughout the fifteenth century, theorists tended to take one of the two approaches to *musica ficta* described above, either treating pitch inflections as necessary alterations to an otherwise sufficient gamut, or using the justification of *coniunctae* to regard such inflections as a transposition of ‘true’ pitches. These explanations, like almost all comments on *ficta*, did not distinguish between unwritten inflections and notated accidentals.

1.2 Unwritten Inflections: Source Evidence

While some of the definitions of *musica falsa* and *ficta* given above prescribe the *notation* of accidentals, others refer to the *concept* of irregular solmization without specifying a need for notated signs. It is clear from the music itself, as well as from several passages discussing *ficta*, that not all required inflections were written into the music. Examples can be found throughout the fourteenth century referring to *recta* notes that needed no written inflection on B, whether sung as *mi* or *fa*. However, the *Ars discantus secundum Johannem de Muris* gave examples of *musica ficta* (which, of necessity, notate accidentals) to explain how certain chant formulae, suggesting cadential figures with raised leading-notes, should be sung – also noting that these could be applied to polyphony (*in contrapunctu*):

Ex. 1.2 *Ars discantus secundum Johannem de Muris*
CS IV 73a-b

Quandocumque in simplici cantu est la sol la, hoc sol debet sustineri et cantari sicut fa mi fa, ut: (a)

Quandocumque habetur in simplici cantu sol fa sol, hoc fa sustineri debet et cantari sicut fa mi fa, ut: (b)

Quandocumque habetur in simplici cantu re ut re, hoc ut sustineri debet et cantari sicut fa mi fa, ut: (c)

*Et est notandum quod in contrapunctu nulle alie note sustinentur, nisi iste tres, scilicet: sol fa et ut.*⁴⁰

Wherever in plainsong there is *la sol la*, that *sol* should be raised and sung as *fa mi fa*, thus: **(a)**

Wherever in plainsong there is *sol fa sol*, that *fa* should be raised and sung as *fa mi fa*, thus: **(b)**

Wherever in plainsong there is *re ut re*, that *ut* should be raised and sung as *fa mi fa*, thus: **(c)**

It should be noted that in counterpoint, no other notes are raised except these three: *sol*, *fa* and *ut*.

A number of theorists described similar inflections in plainsong, frequently with disapproval: Jacques de Liège, writing in the *Speculum musice* (c1321), was one of these:

*Similiter falsam committunt musicam qui a la de e acuta descendunt per tonum et semitonium, quia oportet ut cum dicta la ponant sol, ut fiat descensus per tonum cum semitono qui est inter sol mi, vel sol fa mi; non inter la fa, vel la sol fa. Tactam falsam musicam incurrunt quidam cantores in finali mediatione toni septimi in simplicibus psalmis ...; et qui tactis irregularibus utuntur mutationibus, canto falso utuntur.*⁴¹

Likewise, those who descend from *la* of *e acuta*, using a tone and semitone, make *falsa musica*, because it is then necessary to put *sol* with the said *la* beneath, in order that there can be a descent by the tone and semitone that are between *sol* and *mi* (or *sol fa mi*) [i.e., e-d-c#]; and not between *la* and *fa* (or *la sol fa*). Certain singers include such false music at the final mediation of the seventh mode in simple psalms ... ; and those who use such irregular mutations use false song.

While this passage criticises faulty solmization, the reference to its use at the final suggests that such inflections may have been made following practice in polyphonic music. Mid-century sources confirm this unauthorised use of unwritten inflections; the author of *Quatuor Principalia* (1351) describes similar malpractice, and gives an insight into its origins:

⁴⁰ CS IV 73a-b. “*In simplici cantu*” might alternatively be translated as “in unadorned contrapuntal lines”.

⁴¹ *Speculum*, CSM III, ed. Bragard 1955-73, 6:185-186

Cum sol fa sol aut re ut re pronuntiant, semitonium pro tono mittunt, et sic genus diatonicum confundunt, ac planum cantum falsificant. Interroganti quidem qua ratione sit ut semitonium pro tono pronuntient; pro auctoritate enim atque ratione, cantores de magnatorum capellis allegant. Dicunt etenim eos non sic cantasse sine ratione, cum optimi sint cantores, sicque aliorum vestigiis decepti, et unus post alium omnes sequuntur errores.

When they sing *sol fa sol* or *re ut re*, they substitute a semitone for a tone, and thus they confound the diatonic genus and falsify the plainchant. Indeed, when asked why they sing a semitone for a tone, they cite as their authority and reason the singers of the chapels of the great. For they declare also that such singers have not sung thus without good reason, because they are the best singers. Thus they are misled in the trail of others, and one after another they pursue their errors.⁴²

Such inflections were, naturally, of greater relevance to polyphony than to chant; one might speculate that singers at such advanced establishments inflected chant in this manner because their work entailed the performance of a great deal of polyphony.

Theorists did not, however, insist that pitch inflections be written down. The anonymous author of the Berkeley treatises, who discussed *coniunctae* in connection with *contrapunctus*, suggested that their notation on *b-fa b-mi* was not always necessary:

In cantu inveniuntur duo signa, scilicet signum B mollis et signum B quadrati, demonstrancia ubi fa et mi debeant cantari, et possunt poni in diversis locis manus, ut patebit inferius de coniunctis, sed ipsa frequenter sunt in B-fa-B-mi, virtualiter licet semper non signentur.

Two signs are found in song – the sign *B-mollis* and the sign *B-quadratum* – which show where *fa* and *mi* ought to be sung; they can be placed in different locations in the hand – as I shall explain later concerning *coniunctae* – but they are frequently on *B-fa-B-mi*. In general, it is permissible not to notate them.⁴³

The use of implied inflections continued to be advocated throughout the century; as late as c1475, Johannes Tinctoris disapproved of the notation of flats in the case of melodic tritones:

⁴² CS IV 250; translation after Cross 1990, 93. Cross cites additional sources describing the application of *musica falsa* to plainchant, such as an anonymous treatise dated 1369 (Federhofer-Königs 1962).

⁴³ *Berkeley Manuscript*, Ellsworth 1984, 44-45. An alternative translation of the end of this much-quoted passage has been suggested by Bonnie Blackburn, in *JAMS* LI (1998), 635: "... but they are often effectively present in *b-fa b-mi*, even though they are not always written."

Ut autem evitetur tritoni durities, necessario ex quarta specie diapente isti duo toni formantur. Neque tunc b mollis signum apponi est necessarium, immo si appositum videatur, asininum esse dicitur, ut hic probatur.

Ex. 1.3 Tintoris, *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*
CS IV 22a

In order to avoid the hardness of the tritone, however, by necessity these two tones are formed from the fourth type of that fifth. Nor then is it necessary that the sign of soft b be added; rather, if it may be seen to have been added, it is said to be asinine, as is proven here.⁴⁴

A further application of manuscript accidentals, touched upon by very few theorists, was in the form of signatures: though the practice was often inconsistent, the intention was that accidentals (overwhelmingly flats) would be placed at the start of a stave to alter that pitch for the length of the stave, unless contradicted by a subsequent accidental. Signatures were first to be seen in the notation of chant, where many treatises on plainsong gave examples notated with a B-flat signature; these obviated the need of notating each b-flat separately.

The use of B-flat signatures was described by Marchetto in the *Lucidarium* where, as part of his discussion of plainchant, he considered the mechanics of transposed modes:

Quare non possumus incipere hunc Introitum, Statuit, in G gravi;]nam ibi per dispositionem b rotundi inveniuntur omnes species dyatessaron et dyapente, que eidem competunt, sicut si in D gravi incipiatur, ut in presentibus patet exemplis:

Ex. 1.4 Marchetto, *Lucidarium*, ed. Herlinger 1985, 428-31

Respondemus quod talis tonus a parte compositionis dicetur proprius, eo quod ex speciebus suis propriis sit formatus, sed dicetur improprius a parte locationis, quia in loco alio quam in proprio collocatur.

Why can we not begin this Introit, *Statuit*, on low G? For with round b, all the species of the diatessaron and the diapente appropriate to it are found there, and the same come together, as if it were begun on low D, as is manifest in these examples: **Ex. 1.4**

⁴⁴ *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*, CS IV, 22a; trans. Seay 1976, 11. Blackburn (op. cit., 635) notes of this passage that, at the time of its writing "It was rapidly becoming customary to supply pieces in these modes with a flat signature", making the notation of an additional flat even less necessary.

We answer that such a mode will be called ‘proper with respect to composition’, because it has been shaped from its proper species, but ‘improper with respect to location’, because it is placed together in a location other than its proper one.⁴⁵

However, the application of signatures to polyphonic music was not described by theorists until the late fourteenth century. The Berkeley treatise (c1375) was unambiguous in its instructions:

Item quandocumque aliquod istorum signorum pro coniuncta ponitur in principio regule vel spacii cuiuscumque, omnes voces illius regule spacii cantari debent virtute illius signi in principio positi, alibi hoc tollatur, eciam si fieret de deduccione in deduccionem.

Likewise, whenever any of those signs for the *coniuncta* is placed at the beginning on whatever line or space, all syllables on that line or space ought to be sung according to the sign placed at the beginning; elsewhere this may be removed, even if it should be done by a hexachord within a hexachord.⁴⁶

While this passage implied that *b-mi* signs might be used in the same way as flats, this does not appear to have happened in practice. Somewhat later, Prosdocimus de Beldomandis (in *Contrapunctus*) recommended that a single signature flat be used in place of numerous *ficta* accidentals, in a passage which – while giving a justification for the use of *musica ficta* – also cautions against notating inflections unnecessarily:

Item sciendum quod ficta musica inventa est solum propter consonantiam aliquam colorandam, que consonantia aliter colorari non posset quam per fictam musicam. Et ex istis duobus notabilibus apparere potest quomodo quasi omnes cantuum compositores circa hanc fictam musicam sepissime errant, quoniam ipsa multotiens utuntur in loco ubi non est neccessitas, sicut verbi gratia, quando ad clavem de natura ponunt b rotundum sive molle, scilicet in E lami gravi, quia tunc illud b rotundum sive molle ponere possent ad clavem b-quadri sive duri, scilicet in b-fa b-mi acuto, absque aliqua ficta musica, et idem in opere proveniret, scilicet in eorum discantibus, sicut apparere potest cuilibet subtiliter

It must be known, too, that *musica ficta* was invented exclusively for the sake of coloring some consonance that could not be colored except by *musica ficta*. From these two points it can become evident that almost all composers of song very often err with respect to *musica ficta*, since they very frequently use it

⁴⁵ *Lucidarium*, ed. Herlinger 1985, 430-431. This use of signatures has been discussed by Karol Berger (Berger 1987, 58-59).

⁴⁶ *Berkeley Manuscript*, ed. Ellsworth 1984, 52-53

where there is no necessity – as for instance, when they apply the round or soft b in a natural signature – as on low E-*la-mi*, because in that case they could apply the round or soft b to the signature representing square or hard b, high b-*fa b-mi*, without any *musica ficta*, and the same thing would apply in practice – namely in their compositions – as can become evident to whoever considers the matter closely.⁴⁷

The gradual change of musical language which developed through the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century evolved a less inflected style; this tended to allow a more consistent use of manuscript signatures, as fewer cancellations would be necessary, and can be seen in anthologies copied from about 1390 onwards – even when the music dated from considerably earlier.

‘Partial’ or ‘conflicting’ signatures have been debated by a number of musicologists: these are signatures which differ from one voice to another, the most common form being that in which the tenor (and contratenor, if present) have a signature one degree flatter than the cantus (and triplum). A possible explanation for these signatures, relevant to Machaut’s music, is suggested by Hoppin, and later clarified by Karol Berger: Hoppin, discussing works later than Machaut’s, and to which a modal interpretation would be more relevant, suggested that this notation “implied the use of two modes simultaneously or of the same mode in a transposed or untransposed position”.⁴⁸ Berger stressed the outcome rather than the theory: any diminished fifths resulting from the notation of all voices with the same signature could be avoided by means of different signatures.⁴⁹ It should be stressed that the works under discussion tended to be of the fifteenth century, and did not (at least in editions cited by Apel, Hoppin, and Lowinsky) approach the idiosyncrasies of the Machaut manuscripts: in the latter, a signature might vary, not only from voice to voice, but from staff to staff *within* a single voice. The interpretation of notated signatures is an important aspect of the treatment of manuscript accidentals in the group of manuscripts containing Machaut’s complete musical works, and is discussed in greater detail in the following chapters.

⁴⁷ *Contrapunctus*, ed. Herlinger 1984, 70-75 (*translation amended*).

⁴⁸ Hoppin 1953, 203

⁴⁹ Berger 1987, 66

1.3 Interpreting Accidentals

The interpretation of manuscript accidentals, and the addition of unwritten inflections, is one of the greatest problems facing those editing or studying medieval music, and has been a matter of concern since the rediscovery of the repertoire at the end of the nineteenth century. Hugo Riemann was amongst the first to address it in his *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*:⁵⁰ he held the view that all manuscript accidentals were explicable as the result of transposition of the ecclesiastical modes. Like some other early writers on the period, Riemann saw musical history as a process of evolution towards tonality; in the words of Richard Crocker, he “looked forward to the Messianic appearance of the Dual Nature of Harmony in the Major and Minor TRIADS [sic], the glory of whose coming blinded him to the actual meaning of the medieval authors.”⁵¹ Riemann’s paper, “Verloren gegangene Selbstverständlichkeiten in der Musik des 15.–16. Jahrhunderts” (subtitled “Die Musica Ficta – eine Ehrenrettung”)⁵² indicates his awareness of unwritten accidentals, but is otherwise of mainly historiographical interest.

While musicologists, notably Willi Apel and Edward Lowinsky, furthered the cause of this previously unknown repertoire through pioneering new editions, it was not until the 1950s that the theory behind these editorial decisions was investigated in greater detail in a paper given by Suzanne Clercx at the Colloques de Wégimont. Entitled “Les accidents sous-entendus et la transcription en notation moderne”,⁵³ it explored the way in which the inflections required by *contrapunctus* altered what she saw as a modal framework. Clercx was also the first to take into account the “performer’s view” of the music – that is, the inflections that a singer, reading only a single line rather than a score, might be expected to make.

⁵⁰ Riemann 1898

⁵¹ Hoppin 1962, 15

⁵² Trans.: “Things Once Self-Evident, But Now Lost to the Past, in Music of the 15th and 16th Centuries: A Rehabilitation of Musica Ficta”, Riemann 1907

⁵³ Trans.: “Implied Accidentals and their Transcription into Modern Notation”, *Les Colloques de Wégimont II*, 167–195

The importance of *contrapunctus* to the understanding of manuscript accidentals was further explored by Richard Crocker: though his article “Discant, Counterpoint and Harmony” dealt mainly with the intervals and progressions of *discantus* and *contrapunctus*, he admitted the necessity of *ficta* inflections to counterpoint:

“The importance of these progressions is great enough to demand alteration of the written pitches through *musica ficta*.”⁵⁴

A closer examination of *ficta* in an edition of the Old Hall manuscript raised issues that prompted new publications on the subject: these were Andrew Hughes’s book *Manuscript Accidentals: Ficta in Focus 1350-1450*, and Margaret Bent’s articles, “Musica Recta and Musica Ficta” and “Diatonic Ficta”.⁵⁵ Hughes began, as it were, from first principles, asking why a medieval musician would notate *any* accidentals if not prepared to notate *all* of them: this led him to explore their possible functions. Beginning with untransposed hexachords, he discounted the possibility that *b-fa* and *b-mi* signs simply indicated *durum* or *molle* hexachords respectively:

“No theorist to my knowledge says more than that the *b rotundum sive molle* must elicit the syllable *fa*. None says it entails *fa* of the soft hexachord.”⁵⁶

While plenty of theorists say that *b-rotundum* signifies *fa*, a number do link the sign with the soft hexachord: for example, the *Introductio musice secundum Magistrum de Garlandia* gives examples of each hexachord notated with *b-molle* or *b-quadrum* signs.⁵⁷ Later, too, the Berkeley treatise describes the clear link between the *b-fa* and *b-mi* signs, and hard and soft hexachords. (It is true, though, that no author writes that the signs were *primarily* indicators of hexachords.)⁵⁸

Hughes’s suggested interpretations of manuscript accidentals included: raising or lowering the pitch of the marked note by a semitone; reinforcing an existing

⁵⁴ Crocker 1962, 12

⁵⁵ *The Old Hall Manuscript*, ed. Bent and Hughes 1969; Hughes 1972; Bent 1972 and 1984.

⁵⁶ Hughes 1972, 46

⁵⁷ CS I, 158b-59a

⁵⁸ *Coniuncta est alicuius proprietatis seu deduccionis de loco proprio ad alienum locum secundum sub vel supra intellectualis transposicio. Pro cuius evidencia notandum est, quod omnis coniuncta aut signatur per b aut # in locis inustatis positum.* [A *coniuncta* is the mental transposition of any property or hexachord from its own location to another location above or below. As evidence of this, it must be noted that every *coniuncta* is signed by *b* or *#*, placed in an unusual location.] (Berkeley, ed. Ellsworth 1984, 52-53)

inflection – the cautionary accidental; and contradicting a preceding, opposite sign – that is, cancellation. Hughes also noted an interpretation described by Ugolino d’Orvieto, whereby the accidental functions as a solmization syllable but requires the alteration of an *adjacent*, unsigned note: for example, if G were marked with a flat, it would become *fa*; therefore F would become *mi*, and would have to be sharpened.⁵⁹

Lastly, Hughes discussed signatures, treating flats as signs which transposed the entire system of hexachords – *naturale*, *durum* and *molle* – and made these new pitches into temporary *recta* notes. He asserted that sharps and flats had different functions – the b-*mi* sign created *musica ficta*,⁶⁰ did not transpose hexachords and was only ‘local’ in effect, while the b-*fa* transposed the hexachord system to give a new set of *recta* notes and so was, necessarily, effective over a longer range:

“To know the place of the semitone is meaningful only within the context of the hexachord. Similarly, the hexachord must be related to a system of its own. By this extension a single *ficta* accidental showing the place of the semitone also implies a *ficta* gamut, a *ficta* system, or to put it more simply, a transposed system.”⁶¹

While a hexachord *may* be related to an extended system of transposition, to say that it can relate only to an analytical approach such as Hughes’s is misleading; he appears to acknowledge this when he notes that “the theorists do not refer to key signatures, or to transposed systems”.⁶²

In addition to this, Hughes also proposed some extreme solutions to apparently redundant accidentals, such as “retrospectively acting” inflections, or “half-sharpening” – raising the pitch half-way through a sustained note – though this should be seen as part of a study of a single, highly individual source. His approach emphasised performance, stating in the introduction his “general purpose” to be “to show how written-in accidentals can throw light on extemporised chromaticism.”⁶³ Suggesting that polyphonic music of this period would need a degree of correction in rehearsal, he

⁵⁹ This function, while very rarely observed in manuscript sources, may explain one otherwise anomalous ‘G-flat’ notated in Machaut manuscript E: see Ex. 7.4(a), 175.

⁶⁰ *Old Hall*, ed. Bent and Hughes 1969: “From what has been said, it will appear that all sharps may be regarded as *ficta*.” (xxi)

⁶¹ Hughes 1972, 47

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 10

described “the more or less extempore addition [of accidentals] at a first rehearsal, causing some unacceptable harmonic results, followed by gradual adjustment at later rehearsals to eliminate direct clashes and unmusical sounds.”⁶⁴

Margaret Bent’s publications on the interpretation of manuscript accidentals likewise resulted from the collaboration with Hughes. Applying fourteenth- and fifteenth-century theory to music of that period, she stressed the importance of the performer’s point of view – the inflections that might be made by a singer who saw only his or her own line. Bent, like Hughes, saw notated accidentals as indicators of hexachords, unconnected with the modal system: “Modes have no apparent relevance to *ficta* in the early fifteenth century.”⁶⁵ Her article “Diatonic Ficta” dealt primarily with Renaissance attitudes to implied inflections and, in particular, to perfecting fifths: her edition of Willaert’s *Quid non ebrietas*, and her discussion of an extract of Josquin’s *Ave Maria* and Obrecht’s *Kyrie Libenter gloriabor*, accorded with Lowinsky’s ideas on this problem,⁶⁶ correcting diminished intervals regardless of the number of editorial accidentals required by applying the rule that “all melodic leaps of fourths and fifths are to be sung perfect.”⁶⁷ However, her reading of Josquin’s *Ave Maria* has been subsequently contested by Roger Wibberley on precisely the grounds of excessive correction of diminished intervals.⁶⁸

Directly opposed to the views of Bent and Hughes were interpretations by musicologists who insisted upon the relevance of modes. The first of these – also, coincidentally, published in 1972 – was Gaston Allaire’s *The Theory of Hexachords, Solmization and the Modal System: A Practical Application*,⁶⁹ in which he constructed an elaborate system designed to give a definite solution to any problematic inflection. He asserted the central importance of modes to fourteenth-century composition:

⁶⁴ Ibid., 15

⁶⁵ Bent 1972, 83

⁶⁶ Lowinsky 1946 and 1956: the latter discusses how far the *mi contra fa* rule could be applied in Greiter’s *Fortuna desperata*.

⁶⁷ Bent 1984, 18. Bent’s treatment of Obrecht’s work has been discussed by Karol Berger (1987, 43–48), who did not agree with her solution.

⁶⁸ Wibberley cited Glareanus’s description of Josquin’s work as an excellent use of mode, which succeeded “without removing the harmony from its base” (Wibberley 1996, para.9).

⁶⁹ Allaire 1972

“It is obvious to anyone opening a medieval or a renaissance treatise on music that ... there were rules for modal analysis and for solmization.”⁷⁰

However, Allaire made no attempt to distinguish between plainchant, to which modal classification always applied, and polyphonic music, in connection with which modes were rarely mentioned. Onto this assumption he grafted a minor theoretical point from Johannes de Muris’ *Musica speculativa*, which classified pairs of tetrachords as either conjunct (for example, G-f) or disjunct (such as C-c). Allaire proposed that the b-quadratum, or sharp, signified the conjunct order, while b-molle, the flat, signified the disjunct; however, he again gave no justification for this.

Allaire’s use of theoretical writing elsewhere was similarly cavalier, applying fifteenth- and sixteenth-century ideas to thirteenth- or fourteenth-century music: his contention was that all music from 1300 to 1600 could be edited in exactly the same way, since it was all based on the hexachord system:

“We are sure that evolution did take place in musical language between 1300 and 1600. We are equally certain, however, that it did so within the framework of the hexachordal system, in much the same way that the almost two-hundred-year span between the music of J.S. Bach and that of Wagner encompassed an evolution of the musical language within the framework of the tonal system.”⁷¹

For instance, Allaire routinely flattened the note above the sixth degree of a hexachord – the so-called *fa supra la* – in all the given musical examples, which range from monophonic song from the *Chansonnier du Roy* to mass movements by Josquin des Pres and Claudin de Sermisy: the theorist he cited in support of this was one Maximilian Guillaud, writing in 1554.⁷² The result of such anachronisms was a reading of fourteenth-century music that completely disregarded *contrapunctus*, flattening even those ‘leading-notes’ that were signed b-*mi* in manuscript sources: Allaire demonstrated his method with an edition of Machaut’s *Comment puet on mieus* (R11):

⁷⁰ Ibid., 13

⁷¹ Ibid., 152

⁷² Guillaud: *Rudiments de Musique Pratique*, Paris 1554

Ex. 1.5 Allaire 1972, 112

Machaut: *Comment puet on mieus* (R11)
upper system shows manuscript accidentals,
lower system gives Allaire's interpretation

These ideas have been taken to ever greater lengths in Allaire's subsequent articles, such as "Les énigmes de l'Antefana et du double hoquet de Machaut: une tentative de solution":⁷³ here, one possible solution to an obscure solmization puzzle was taken as a model for the interpretation of manuscript accidentals in other, unrelated, fourteenth-century works.⁷⁴

This article would appear to have influenced Christian Berger, whose book *Hexachord, Mensur und Textstruktur* combined modal and hexachordal theory with Allaire's reliance upon *fa supra la*, and use of *b-mi* and *b-fa* to indicate different tetrachords: *b-mi* was taken to signify the tetrachord from *ut* to *fa*, and *b-fa* that from *fa* to *fa-supra-la*.⁷⁵ The result was a detailed system of modal transposition, within which it was quite possible to interpret a *b-mi* sign as *fa* – as Berger showed in the following passage, from the anonymous ballade *Fuiiés de moy*:

Ex. 1.6 Christian Berger 1992, 83

Upper system: *Fuiiés de moy*, Anon., ed. Apel 1970-2, No. 147
Lower stave: Cantus in Berger's reading

Although Berger's use of theory was less anachronistic than Allaire's, his determination to interpret all the inconsistencies of fourteenth-century accidentals as the results of modal transposition has little theoretical support: it has been strongly contested by Sarah Fuller, who described it as "deeply flawed" in its interpretation of fourteenth-century theory.⁷⁶ This thinking has, however, continued to pervade Berger's writings, such as "La quarte et la structure hexacordale", or his paper "Modality and

⁷³ Allaire 1980; recent examples include "Debunking the Myth of Musica Ficta", *TVNM* XLV-2 (1995), 110-126

⁷⁴ Different solutions and analyses of this strange work, possibly written as a test-piece for singers, have been offered by Seay 1970, 51, and Cross 1990, 237.

⁷⁵ C. Berger 1992

⁷⁶ Fuller 1998b, 65

Texture in the Chansons of the MS Torino J.II.9”, presented at the 1992 conference on the Cypriot Codex.⁷⁷

Not all champions of the modal system have been so extreme: Jehoash Hirshberg’s “Hexachordal and Modal Structure in Machaut’s Polyphonic Chansons” concentrated on the interpretation of manuscript accidentals as indicators of hexachords, relating this aspect to mode only with regard to a song’s final.⁷⁸ Like Bent and Hughes, Hirshberg supported the idea that different accidentals might have different functions:

“There is a definite distinction between accidentals that indicate mutations and *coniunctae*, and those that effect alterations for contrapuntal reasons.”⁷⁹

He did not, however, justify the relevance of modes to Machaut’s music, simply categorising pieces as, for example, “compositions in the D mode (Dorian) and in the transposed Dorian on G”.⁸⁰

An attempt was made by Peter Lefferts to reconcile *contrapunctus* requirements with the aspects of ‘modal behaviour’ in an article, “Signature-systems and Tonal Types in the Fourteenth-Century French Chanson”.⁸¹ He classified chansons by their cantus finals, rather than those of the tenor, for the following reason:

“In [the cantus/tenor] structural duet the cantus line had conceptual priority over the tenor, so the composer worked ‘from the top down’ in making important choices about tonal behaviour. ... Cantus priority can be demonstrated by a technical but telling detail of tonal behaviour: in polyphony the medial and final cadential goals prove to be more consistent and stable goals in the cantus than in the tenor.”⁸²

His solution was to suggest four notional ‘signatures’ as an editorial guide, in each of which the tenor would be one degree flatter than the cantus. To a certain degree this was a continuation of Bent’s and Hughes’ concept of transposed systems, since each ‘signature’ delivered a new set of *musica recta* notes (to use Bent’s terminology).

⁷⁷ C. Berger 1995

⁷⁸ Hirshberg 1980

⁷⁹ Ibid., 40

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Lefferts 1995

⁸² Ibid., 119; this approach allowed Lefferts to compare Machaut’s early ballades, which tend to conclude with the tenor a fifth below the cantus, with his mature works, ending on a cantus-tenor octave.

However, rather than rejecting modes outright, he recognised some parallels between his “tonal types” and modal classification. As an overall view of fourteenth-century tonality, and an analytical tool, this was a constructive approach; it was of less use in manuscript studies, though, as Lefferts acknowledged:

“There are, inevitably, disagreements among sources (and among editors) over signatures ... To resolve them, I have not examined the sources of every chanson, instead relying on the published incipits, editions and reports ... Signatures in the Machaut manuscripts need closer examination.”⁸³

Other elements make this an unsuitable approach to manuscript treatment of signature accidentals: for example, the suggestion of a *signature* containing #-f in the cantus seems more notional than actual, although Lefferts supported this with the rondeau *Ay las quant je pans* – the enharmonic signature of which is quite exceptional – and part of Solage’s *S’aincy estoit* – which has no manuscript signature.⁸⁴

A survey of theoretical stances on accidentals throughout the medieval and Renaissance periods was compiled by Karol Berger in *Musica ficta: Theories of accidental inflections in vocal polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino*.⁸⁵ While Berger did not try to propose a new solution to all *ficta* problems, he examined those suggested by other musicologists (including some of those discussed here); he disagreed, for example, with Bent’s view that transposed hexachords could be considered *musica recta*, maintaining that everything not included in the Guidonian Hand remained *ficta*. He also objected to Allaire’s blanket use of *fa supra la*:

“It cannot be emphasised too strongly that ... this is not a separate rule, but merely one of the ways in which the prohibition of the tritone was formulated.”⁸⁶

Unlike Hughes, he did not view implied inflections as “extemporised”, but rather as a fixed component of the music:

⁸³ Ibid., 131n

⁸⁴ *S’aincy estoit*, Solage, in **Ch**; edition in *CMM* LIII, Vol.I, No.100; *Ay las quant je pans*, Anon., in Lucca Codex, I-Las 184; edition in *PFMC* XXII, No.24. Fuller has argued against Lefferts’ application of signatures in this way as being anachronistic (Fuller 1998a).

⁸⁵ K. Berger 1987

⁸⁶ Ibid., 77

“Most accidental inflections in music of our period [1300-1550], whether notated or implied, do belong unambiguously to the domain of invariable musical text.”⁸⁷

He did, however, differentiate between accidentals that needed to be notated and those that did not. Berger suggested that, where an accidental indicated an inflection necessary to conform with the rules of *contrapunctus*, such as the avoidance of diminished fifths, its notation would not have been necessary, since singers would have been trained to correct such intervals; this would correspond to the *causa necessitatis*. Similarly, accidentals denoting standard *contrapunctus* progressions required by the *causa pulchritudinis* need not have been marked, as performers would have learnt the correct inflections, or could be guided by a trained cantor. Signatures, on the other hand, required notation, because they could not necessarily be inferred by performers; intervals and progressions characteristic of a certain composer would likewise need to be marked if he or she wanted to ensure their inclusion.

Thomas Brothers, however, controversially argued against the addition of unwritten inflections; he suggested that since, in some cases, scribes (or composers) were careful to notate unconventional inflections, *no* inflection could be taken as conventional, and therefore none should be made by performers (or by present-day editors). In an example taken from Solage's ballade *Le Basile*,⁸⁸ the presence of a notated B-flat in a line ascending to C is taken as proof of his argument; Brothers states that:

“At this point it no longer seems radical to take the position that the notation of accidentals may be complete and precise.”⁸⁹

It would surely be more logical, however, for a composer or scribe to notate unconventional inflections – such as this lowering, rather than raising, of a 'leading-note' – if conventional inflections were routinely made by singers. (Solage's association with the court of Jean Duc de Berry – who is likely to have commissioned the copying of one of the surviving Machaut manuscripts, E – also suggests that he may have

⁸⁷ Ibid., 168

⁸⁸ See Ex. 3.12, 83

⁸⁹ Brothers 1997, 32

worked with well-trained musicians, who would be among the most likely to know and use the inflections of fourteenth-century counterpoint.)⁹⁰

Elsewhere in his book, Brothers drew attention to the use of particular unconventional inflections which characterized the music of certain composers; he took this to be the definition of the *causa pulchritudinis*, which he described as “the optional use of inflections according to no theoretically quantifiable purpose”.⁹¹ This approach had earlier formed an important part of Lucy Cross’s dissertation *Chromatic Alteration and Extrahexachordal Intervals*, in which she examined inflections justified by both the *causa necessitatis* and the *causa pulchritudinis*. Her study highlighted certain progressions habitually used by certain composers, particularly Machaut and Jacopo da Bologna:

“Extrahexachordal intervals are almost always either explicitly specified or else clearly and unmistakably indicated by composers’ manipulation of counterpoint.”⁹²

From this – despite the elastic nature of the phrase “almost always” to encompass several problematic readings in Machaut’s chansons – Cross reasoned that there must be an ‘Urtext’ for every piece of medieval music, allowing the performer no scope for the smallest choice of inflection:

“There is no reason, certainly none authenticated by any writer of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, to think of accidental inflections as discretionary, subject to the choice or taste of a performer.”⁹³

However, a more pragmatic view had already been articulated by Andrew Hughes:

“There is no one correct method of realising a piece of music and, apart from certain limitations, the amount of chromaticism must have depended on local tastes, individual skills, musical styles, and on one’s interpretation of ‘beauty’.”⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Further objections are also raised in Bonnie Blackburn’s review of Brothers’ book (*JAMS* LI/3, Fall 1998, 630-6).

⁹¹ Brothers 1997, 6

⁹² Cross 1990, 8

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 71

⁹⁴ Hughes 1972, 16

The possibility of the existence of multiple versions of medieval works, has also, more recently, been conceded by Margaret Bent:

“A modern edition usually fixes a single version where the early performer had several, or knew one of several ... A beginning has hardly been made on methods of analysis that are sensitive to plural solutions and plural versions of the same piece.”⁹⁵

It can be seen that there is nothing approaching a consensus in the current interpretation of fourteenth-century manuscript accidentals; the following chapter, therefore, will begin by examining writings on the use of inflections in fourteenth-century composition.

⁹⁵ Bent 1998, 51

2: *Contrapunctus*

2.1 What is *Contrapunctus*?

From discant, established in the early thirteenth century, developed a new compositional strategy, *contrapunctus*.¹ Like discant, it was founded upon the hierarchy of intervals central to thirteenth-century theory; its chief innovation lay in the *ordering* of these intervals into prescribed progressions, an idea that had been alien to discant. These entailed the resolution of one interval, classed as imperfect, by a perfect one, the impetus being provided by an unstable sonority moving to a stable interval. The ‘directed’ nature of these progressions was the *raison d’être* of many notated accidentals: this reason for using *musica ficta* was called by some theorists the *causa pulchritudinis*, which might be translated as pitch inflection “for the sake of beauty”. Briefly, the imperfect interval was to be brought as close as possible to the nearest perfect interval; for instance, a third preceding a fifth became major, while one before a unison became minor. Thus, while both voices moved by step, one of them was required to move only by a semitone, becoming in effect a ‘leading-note’. Such inflections might be notated – as were a number of those in examples given in *contrapunctus* treatises – or might be left to a performer trained in the standard progressions.

Although the term *contrapunctus* was used in a general sense to refer to the whole compositional system, it more often denoted the strict, somewhat academic style generally used to illustrate acceptable or prohibited progressions – “what we today would call strict ‘first species’ counterpoint”.² The compositional system, meanwhile, was more frequently referred to in its entirety as *discantus*: this is clear from a number

¹ For a detailed survey of the use of the term *contrapunctus*, see Sachs 1982.

² Ellsworth 1979, 1:106

of treatises. For example, the anonymous *Ars contrapuncti secundum Johannem de Muris* explained:

*Contrapunctus non est nisi punctum contra punctum ponere vel notam contra notam ponere vel facere, et est fundamentum discantus. Et quia sicut quis non potest edificare, nisi prius faciat fundamentum, sic aliquis non potest discantare, nisi prius sciat contrapunctum.*³

Counterpoint is nothing but placing point against point, or placing or making note against note, and it is the foundation of discant. And just as one cannot build unless one first makes a foundation, so one cannot discant unless one first knows counterpoint.⁴

As was customary in such writing, phrases were passed from one treatise to another: for example, the widely-known treatise of c1340, beginning *Volentibus introduci*,⁵ echoed the formula *nota contra notam*. Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, who has written extensively on this area of fourteenth-century theory, traced the changing usage and meaning of the term *contrapunctus*, including its components *punctus* and *contra*;⁶ he summarised the relationship of *contrapunctus* to *discantus* thus:

Contrapunctus ist der rein konsonante Satz rhythmisch identischer Stimmen auf der satztechnischen Stufe geregelter perfekter und imperfekter Konsonanzen, d.h. der Satz, für den die Erklärungen anhand des Ausdrucks *punctum contra punctum* zutreffen;

discantus ist Sammelname für die Satzarten, bei denen die Bindungen an gleichzeitiges und rein konsonantes Fortschreiten der Stimmen entfallen, so daß rhythmisch freie “Cantus” unter Einbeziehung auch von Dissonanzen möglich werden.⁷

Contrapunctus is the purely consonant composition of rhythmically identical voices using specified progressions of permitted perfect and imperfect consonances, i.e., the form of composition to which an explanation including the expression *punctus contra punctum* applies;

³ Sachs 1974, 84-85. This passage is in CS III 60b, where *faciat* replaces *sciat*. Sachs discussed this significant treatise, and other related writings, in some detail (170-185); he suggested that its second section, *Cum notum sit*, dated from the second half of the fourteenth century, though the opening, *Quilibet affectans*, was somewhat earlier, perhaps c1340. He added that both sections were at least ‘of the school of’ Johannes de Muris. Ulrich Michels, 1970, was more positive in his attribution of *Quilibet affectans*: “Solange nicht auf Grund eindeutiger Beweise die Notwendigkeit besteht, *Quilibet affectans* Muris abzusprechen, muß man in ihm den Verfasser dieses kurzen Contrapunctus-Kapitels sehen.” [As long as there is no need to question Muris’ authorship of *Quilibet affectans* on definite grounds, one must see in him the author of this short chapter on *contrapunctus*.] (42)

⁴ Translation Leech-Wilkinson 1985, 3

⁵ CS III, 23a-27b; an edition of *Volentibus introduci* is given in Sachs 1974, 170-173.

⁶ Sachs 1974, 8-23

⁷ Ibid., 39

discantus is a collective term for the types of composition in which the connections to simultaneous and purely consonant progressions are not applicable, so that a rhythmically free cantus may also make the inclusion of dissonances permissible.

The question of dissonances, and where they were theoretically permitted, is discussed below; for the present, it suffices to point out that at the beginning of the fourteenth century the term *contrapunctus* (or, occasionally, *simplex discantus* – the term preferred by Petrus frater dictus Palma ociosa)⁸ implied a set of rules that had to be learned in order to compose “real music”. This distinction was retained throughout the century; it is implied, for instance, in the Berkeley treatise:

*Cum autem habito fundamento discantus, quod est ipse contrapunctus ...*⁹

Now that the foundation of discantus – which is counterpoint itself – has been dealt with...

Likewise, the late fourteenth-century *Regule Contrapuncti secundum magistrum Phylipпотum de Caserta* – echoing the earlier *Ars contrapuncti secundum Johannem de Muris* – begins:

*Sciendum est quod contrapunctus est fundamentum discanti. Ut sicut hedificium non potest bene se regere sine fundamento, ita et homo non potest bene firmiter discantare nisi prius sciat contrapunctum.*¹⁰

It should be known that counterpoint is the foundation of discant. For just as a building cannot be well-formed without a foundation, so a man cannot discant soundly without first knowing counterpoint.

Prosdocimus, in the early fifteenth century, discussed in detail the opposed forms of *contrapunctus stricte sumptus* (‘strict counterpoint’) and *contrapunctus largo modo* (equivalent to *discantus*):

Contrapunctus largo modo sive comuniter sumptus est plurium notarum contra aliquam uncam solam notam in aliquo cantu positio, ... nec talis vere

⁸ Petrus: “Omnis simplex discantus, qui nihil aliud est quam punctus contra punctum sive notula naturalibus instrumentis formata contra aliam notulam, simpliciter potest componi et ordinari ex unisono, semiditono, ditono, diapente, tono cum diapente et diapason.”

[All simple discant, which is nothing other than point against point (or, on natural instruments, note against note) can be simply composed and ordered from the unison, minor third, major third, fifth, major sixth and octave.] (*Compendium*, ed. Wolf 1913-14, 508)

⁹ Berkeley, ed. Ellsworth 1984, 118-119

¹⁰ Wilkins 1964, 95

contrapunctus nominari habet; contrapunctus vero proprie sive stricte sumptus est unius solius note contra aliquam aliam unicam solam notam in aliquo cantu positio.

Counterpoint construed in the ordinary or loose sense is the placement of many notes against one single note in a melody, nor is this sort truly to be called counterpoint. Counterpoint construed in the proper or strict sense is the placement of one single note against some other single note in a certain melody.

Et est huiusmodi contrapunctus proprie sumptus alterius comuniter sumpti fundamentum, eo quod habita noticia huius, statim haberi potest noticia alterius, saltem apud usitatos circa cantum fractibilem.

Counterpoint of this kind construed in the proper sense is the foundation of the other, construed in the ordinary sense, because with understanding of the one, one can straightway have understanding of the other – at least amid the most usual instances – of the practice of florid song.¹¹

Discantus might occasionally be defined in terms other than of ‘ordered intervals’; the author of the English treatise *Quatuor Principalia* (1351) describes it in rather more abstract terms:

*Discantus est aliquorum diversorum cantuum consonantia.*¹²

Discant is the simultaneous sounding of certain different melodies.

Petrus echoed this description in the introduction to his treatise, retaining the term *discantus* for the system referred to, later in the century, as *contrapunctus*:

*Discantus est aliquorum diversorum cantuum duarum vel plurium vocum secundum modum et tempus ad aures pervenientium dulcis melodia. Et dicitur discantus quasi diversus cantus, eo quod illi cantus, ex quibus discantus componitur, debent differe.*¹³

Discant is the sweet sound of different melodies of two or more voices according to modus and tempus which reach the ear. It is called *discantus* from *diversus cantus*, because the songs from which discant is composed must be different.

The basic rules of *contrapunctus* – which in most treatises followed the classification of intervals – remained largely consistent throughout the century, though their order and wording naturally varied, as did the amount of detail or the complexity of the explanation given. The rules were, in essence, as follows:

¹¹ *Contrapunctus*, ed. Herlinger 1984, 28-31

¹² CS IV, 278a

¹³ *Compendium*, ed. Wolf 1913-14, 507

- (1) A composition should begin and end on a perfect consonance.
- (2) A perfect consonance should not be solmized by *mi* against *fa*.
- (3) Perfect consonances should not move in parallel.
- (4) Imperfect consonances were permitted to move in parallel.
- (5) Contrary motion should be used where possible.
- (6) Imperfect consonances should be resolved as follows:
 - major third → fifth
 - minor third → unison
 - major sixth → octave

These rules might appear with minor differences from one treatise to another. In giving the first rule, for example, a number of authors specified only that a composition should end on a perfect consonance, implying that it could *begin* on an imperfect one; these included Jacques de Liège, the anonymous author of the Berkeley treatise, and Ugolino d'Orvieto.¹⁴ Other theorists specified the number of imperfect intervals allowed in succession, while certain authors added the requirement that the final interval of such imperfect intervals be resolved to the appropriate perfect consonance.

These *contrapunctus* treatises, with their simple rules and practical approach, were clearly meant as primers: Petrus addressed his musical examples to “youths and others curious about this art”.¹⁵ Sarah Fuller has suggested that the less detailed treatises were meant *only* for training boy choristers:

“The *contrapunctus* works are elementary texts directed in the main toward boy singers just ready to undertake part-singing, certainly not addressed to experienced discantors or even apprentice composers of motets.”¹⁶

¹⁴ *Speculum musicae*, ed. Bragard 1955-1973, 2:14; *Berkeley Treatise*, ed. Ellsworth 1984, 33; *Declaratio musicae disciplinae*, CSM VII, ed. Seay 1959-62, 2:12

¹⁵ Petrus: “*Tamen ne iuvenes et alii cupientes in dicta scientia proficere aliquam artem ... idcirco ego circa capacitatem ingenioli mei XII modos seu manieres de discantu mensurabili floribus adornato compilavi.*” (*Compendium*, ed. Wolf 1913-14, 517)

[Nevertheless, in order to make known to young people, and others eager for the said knowledge, some of the art resulting from it ... I have, so far as my ingenuity allows, compiled twelve modes or manners of measured discant adorned with flowers.] (Translation: Leech-Wilkinson 1985, 6)

¹⁶ Fuller, 1986, 39

However, writings on *contrapunctus* vary considerably in their complexity: a small number, of which Petrus' *Compendium* appears to be the earliest, gave details of *contrapunctus diminutus* which appeared to be aimed squarely at composers in training. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, in a paper on *contrapunctus* theory and its implications for the analysis of medieval music, wrote:

“Fourteenth-century counterpoint treatises are practical in intent. They are addressed to students – *cantores* and would-be *musici* – whom they provide with instruction in counterpoint.”¹⁷

Fourteenth-century writers did not, in general, separate improvised music from that which was composed and notated in full. Prosdocimus, writing in 1412, exceptionally noted that *contrapunctus* rules could apply to both ‘written’ and ‘sung’ counterpoint – that is, both composed and improvised music. His list of rules was prefaced thus:

Item sciendum quod huiusmodi contrapunctus, scilicet proprius, est duplex, scilicet vocalis et scriptus: vocalis qui profertur et scriptus qui scribitur, de quibus ambobus intelligenda sunt omnia que de contrapuncto inferius dicentur, ex quo sequitur contrapunctum comuniter acceptum.

It must be known, too, that counterpoint of this kind taken in the proper sense is twofold, namely vocal and written: vocal, that which is uttered, and written, that which is notated. Everything that will be said of counterpoint below is to be understood to pertain to both, whereupon follows counterpoint as it is commonly accepted.¹⁸

2.2 For the sake of beauty: *Causa pulchritudinis*

A need for pitch inflections was implied by two of the rules of strict *contrapunctus*. The first forbade the simultaneous solmization of *mi* and *fa*: diminished or augmented fifths and octaves, as well as tritones, should be ‘corrected’ to their perfect equivalents. The simplest example, and that most often given by theorists, was

¹⁷ Leech-Wilkinson 1985, 1

¹⁸ *Contrapunctus*, ed. Herlinger 1984, 32-33.

that of B-F, which would require either a flattened B or a sharpened F. The second rule, which gave scope for inflections – and, therefore, notated accidentals – prescribed those directed progressions which were the defining feature of *contrapunctus*: the resolution of an imperfect interval to the nearest perfect one.

The foundations for the fourteenth-century hierarchy of intervals were laid by Johannes de Garlandia in *De mensurabili musica*, the first treatise to divide them into opposed categories of concords and discords; each group was subdivided into perfect, imperfect and intermediate. Of the concords, the unison and octave were perfect; major and minor thirds were imperfect; between these categories came the fourth and fifth, the intermediate consonances. Perfect discords were the semitone, tritone and major seventh; the major sixth and minor seventh were imperfect; and the intermediate discords were the tone and the minor sixth.¹⁹ This inclusion and gradation of all intervals reflected the structure of *discantus*, in which passing dissonances, such as seconds, were permitted as long as perfect concords were sounded on the principal structural notes.

With the emergence of *contrapunctus* soon after 1300, the focus shifted to those intervals which immediately preceded the perfect consonances, and which were directed towards them. This ‘direction’ was in part a product of the Pythagorean intonation taught throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which major thirds and sixths were slightly wider than those in equal temperament, and minor thirds narrower:²⁰ the result was what Jan Herlinger described as “the nervous attraction of thirds and sixths toward consonances”.²¹

Thus, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the unison, octave and fifth were considered perfect consonances – often described simply as *consonantiae* – while minor thirds, major thirds and major sixths were imperfect consonances, or

¹⁹ *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica*, ed. Reimer 1972, I: 67-70

²⁰ The influence of intonation upon the musical language of the fourteenth century is discussed by Christopher Page (1989, I:80): “Expressed in the convenient form of cents (one-hundredths of a tempered semitone), and contrasted with the intervals offered by equal temperament, the Pythagorean tones prove to be large (204 cents rather than 200), as do the major thirds (408 not 400) and major sixths (906 not 900). The minor thirds are comparatively narrow (at 294 cents rather than 300) and so are the semitone steps which medieval polyphony exploits (the diatonic semitone, 90 cents not 100).”

²¹ *Lucidarium*, ed. Herlinger 1985, 15n.

dissonantiae. The minor sixth was not included at this stage, since it did not have this “nervous attraction” for any single perfect consonance: while the nearest was the perfect fifth, such a resolution would not involve the stepwise contrary movement of *both* voices that was an integral part of fourteenth-century directed progressions. Theorists were well aware of the importance of pitch inflections, and therefore of *musica ficta*, to *contrapunctus*; Petrus, for example, emphasised this before illustrating possible progressions:

*Est ergo falsa musica in discantu valde necessaria et primo in specie quae dicitur tertia.*²²

Therefore, *falsa musica* is extremely necessary in *discantus*, and first of all in the interval called the third.

The place of these progressions in the musical language of the fourteenth-century was established by works such as the motets of the *Roman de Fauvel* (c1316), *Alieni boni/ Facilius/ Imperfecte canite* (Anon.) or Philippe de Vitry’s *In nova fert/ Garrit gallus/ Neuma*;²³ in these works accidentals were notated to indicate the combination of directed progressions sometimes described as the ‘double leading-note cadence’. While this progression may be found in some thirteenth-century works, particularly those ending on an F-c-f sonority, they occurred there as part of the modal system, and much less commonly than in *Ars nova* compositions. In the latter, however, *musica ficta* was used to apply this cadence to works of any tonal orientation:

Ex. 2.1

- (a) Anon.: *Alieni boni/ Facilius/ Imperfecte canite*, b.70-74
PMFC I, No. 18
- (b) Philippe de Vitry: *In nova fert/ Garrit gallus/ Neuma*, b.7-9
PMFC I, No. 33

In fact, the first theoretical linking of *musica ficta* and directed progressions appeared very shortly after the *Roman de Fauvel*, in Marchetto da Padova’s *Lucidarium* (c1318): Marchetto’s proposed division of the tone into five parts enabled imperfect

²² *Compendium*, ed. Wolf 1913-14, 513

²³ Edited by Schrade, in *PFMC I* (1956): *Alieni boni*, No.18 (p35); *In nova fert*, No.33 (p68)

intervals, which he termed *dissonantiae*, to be made wider, thus increasing their attraction towards perfect consonances:

Huiusmodi autem partes in tono, seu huiusmodi semitonia, fuerunt in musica adinventae, ut per dissonantias coloratas, seu cuiusdam pulcritudinis ipsarum, ad perfectiores, seu pulciores, in cantu consonantias veniamus ...

The segments of the whole tone (or the semitones) of this sort were devised in music so that we might come to more perfect or more beautiful consonances through colored dissonances, [i.e., dissonances altered through *musica ficta*] or because of their beauty ...²⁴

Marchetto went on to explain this principle more fully:

Dissonantia sit quoddam imperfectum, requirens perfectum, quo perfici possit. Consonantia autem est perfectio ipsius. Quanto enim dissonantia minus distat a consonantia, tanto minus distat a sua perfectione et magis assimilatur eidem, et ideo magis amabilis est auditui, tamquam plus habens de natura consonantie.

A dissonance [a third or a sixth, in Marchetto's terminology] is something imperfect; it requires something perfect by means of which it can be perfected. The consonance is its perfection. The less distant the dissonance lies from the consonance, the less distant it is from its perfection and the more it is assimilated to it, and thus the more agreeable to the ear, as if it partook more of the nature of the consonance.²⁵

Lucy Cross, in discussing this principle, has stressed the difference between appreciating the approaching resolution, and valuing the dissonance for its own sake:

“The beauty of chromatic alteration for Marchetto, and for all writers of the ensuing century in Italy, consists in its *impetus*, the power of a forward drive towards resolution in a perfect interval, and not in any pleasure derived by the ear from the harmonic relation of a major or minor imperfect interval at rest.”²⁶

This principle was reiterated by theorists writing on *contrapunctus* throughout the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth. Johannes Boen, writing in 1357, emphasised the *expectation* of resolution created by thirds and sixths:

*Hoc ideo statuentes, ut cantus ille, qui per tertias et sextas imperfectus censetur, non tamen discors aures trahat et alliciat, ut perfectionem cantus, qui per quintam sequetur vel octavam, quarum tertie et sexte sunt nuntie et ancille, exspectatam diutius indicent dulciorem, ut hic:*²⁷

²⁴ *Lucidarium*, ed. Herlinger 1985, 136-137

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 208-209

²⁶ Cross 1990, 102

²⁷ *Musica*, ed. Frobenius 1971, 70

It is established thus, insofar as a cantus that is judged imperfect through thirds and sixths, despite its inharmonious quality attracts and allures the ears toward the following fifth and octave. This is so that thirds and sixths, who are their heralds and maidservants, may announce the perfection of the cantus in fifth or octave, a perfection the sweeter for being long expected, as here:²⁸

Ex. 2.2 Johannes Boen, *Musica* (ed. Frobenius 1971, 70)

A similar appeal to aesthetics was made by Prosdocimus nearly sixty years later; although more practical in tone, stressing the use of manuscript accidentals (“*per signa superius posita*”), it nevertheless described the same principle:

Tunc videre debes an locus a quo recedis magis distet a loco ad quem immediate accedere intendis, faciendo talem consonantiam imperfectam maiorem an in faciendo ipsam minorem, quoniam illam semper sumere debes que minus distat a loco ad quem immediate accedere intendis, sive illa sit maior sive minor, et debes tunc facere ipsam per signa superius posita, de maiori minorem vel e contra, scilicet de minori maiorem, secundum quod oportet, cuius ratio non est alia quam dulcior armonia.

You must see whether the location you leave is more distant from that location which you intend immediately to reach, making such an imperfect consonance major or making it minor; for you should always choose that form whether major or minor, that is less distant from that location which you intend immediately to reach, and you should, by means of the signs posited above, make a major interval minor, or, contrariwise, a minor one major as appropriate. There is no other reason for this than a sweeter-sounding harmony.²⁹

This emphasis on inflections of pitch was reiterated by Ugolino d’Orvieto, writing around twenty years after Prosdocimus:

Idcirco ut quae sunt consonantiae imperfectae perficiantur, inventa est a philosophis musicis musica quaedam, quae ficta vocabulo nuncupatur. Dicitur enim ficta, eo quod talis musica in eo loco ponitur ubi per se non est, sed fingitur in ipso esse, ut consonantiarum et dissonantiarum imperfectio compleatur, ut dictum est. Imperfectiones autem consonantiarum quam plurimis reperiuntur in locis in quibus talis musicae fictio permaxime necessaria est, et est ibi talis fictio necessaria ubi alicuius consonantiae imperfectio reperiatur.

To perfect such imperfect consonances in this way, theoreticians evolved a certain music called *musica ficta*. It is so called because such music is placed in a position where it does not exist in its own right, but is imagined to exist, in order to fill out imperfect consonances and dissonances, as has been said. Wherever the former occur, *musica ficta* is quite obligatory, and where it is obligatory the imperfection of some consonance is found.³⁰

²⁸ Passage also cited by Fuller 1992, 229-230

²⁹ *Contrapunctus*, ed. Herlinger 1985, 80-83. Herlinger pointed out the similarities to Marchetto’s attitude to this principle.

³⁰ *Declaratio*, ed. Seay 1959-62, 2:44-45; trans. after Hughes 1972, 29

Given the time-span covered by these treatises, they are remarkably consistent; and despite the fundamental change in musical style that took place during the fifteenth century, instruction in counterpoint not only remained a basic part of a musician's training – and thus a component of many music treatises – but, at this level, remained materially unchanged. An example is the 1477 *Liber de arte contrapuncti* of Johannes Tinctoris; other late writings on *contrapunctus* include John Hothby's *Regulae contrapuncti* (c1470), Nicolaus Burtius' *Florum Libellus* (c1487), Florentius de Faxolis' *Liber musices* (c1490) and Gaffurius' *Practica musicae* (1496).³¹ These same rules also reappeared in a number of anonymous writings, such as those edited by Seay as *Quatuor Tractatuli Italici de Contrapuncto*.³² The developments in *contrapunctus* that are traceable in these treatises primarily concern the classification of intervals. This is illustrated clearly in the terminology used: while early-fourteenth century writers such as Marchetto and Petrus described thirds and sixths as dissonances, the same intervals were more often described in the fifteenth century as imperfect consonances; however, their status within the hierarchy of permitted progressions remained unchanged.³³ This was pointed out by Lucy Cross:

“Both [Prosdocimus] and Ugolino refer to the “perfection” or “reaching toward perfection” of altered thirds and sixths. For Marchetto, a century earlier, these intervals were not considered perfect in any sense; that theorist could never have allowed that they be *made* perfect. In the course of that century, in no other way possible than through the creations of Machaut, Landini, and lesser composers, thirds and sixths had become as important to the syntax of polyphony as the intervals to which they tended, fifths and octaves.”³⁴

³¹ Johannes Tinctoris, ed. Seay 1975; *John Hothby: Regulae contrapuncti*, ed. Reaney 1977; *Nicolai Burtii Parmensis Florum Libellus*, ed. Massera 1975; *Florentius de Faxolis Liber musices*, ed. Seay 1963, 71-95; Gaffurius, *Practica musica*, trans. Miller 1968

³² *Quatuor Tractatuli*, ed. Seay 1977b

³³ Prosdocimus referred to ‘imperfect consonances’ in *Contrapunctus*:

Item sciendum quod combinationes consonantium quedam sunt perfecte et quedam imperfecte. ... Imperfecte vero sunt sicut tertia, sexta et istis equivalentes.. (*Contrapunctus* ed. Herlinger, 42-3)

It must be known, too, that some of the consonant intervals are perfect and some imperfect. ...

The imperfect ones are the third, the sixth and their equivalents. (Ibid., 43)

However, Ugolino d’Orvieto had in *Musicae disciplinae* referred to “the colouring of intervals” (“...*pro consonantiis colorandis*” – Hughes 1972, 27 and 32), while John Hothby, writing in the second half of the fifteenth century, described the following as dissonances:

Dissonantiae sunt et quatour, videlicet tertia, sexta, decima et tertia decima.

There are four dissonant intervals, namely the third, sixth, tenth and thirteenth.

(*Regule contrapuncti*, ed. Reaney 1977, 63)

³⁴ Cross 1990, 103

Despite the constant reiteration of the principle of ‘perfecting the imperfect’ – and despite theorists’ insistence that this enhanced the beauty of the music – the phrase *causa pulchritudinis* was not *directly* linked with any such progressions, pitch inflections or the application of *musica ficta*. Perhaps its earliest appearance is in Anonymous II’s *Tractatus de discantu*, where it is mentioned without being explained:

Fuit autem inventa falsa musica propter duas causas, scilicet, causa necessitatis et causa pulchritudinis cantus per se. Causa necessitatis, quia non poteramus habere diapente, diatessaron, diapason, ut in locis visis in capitulo de proportionibus. Causa pulchritudinis, ut patet in cantilenis coronatis.

False music has been invented, also, for two reasons, that is, because of necessity and because of the intrinsic beauty of a melody. The reason of necessity comes since there are otherwise times we could not have a diapente, a diatessaron or a diapason, as in the places examined in the chapter on proportions. The reason of beauty is such as appears in the *cantilena coronata*.³⁵

As Cross has pointed out, the late fourteenth-century *Regule Contrapuncti secundum magistrum Phylippotum de Caserta* comes close to doing so, in giving musical examples of this usage, and then later mentioning the *causa pulchritudinis*; however, the two are never linked, and – given the similarity to the passage just quoted from the much older *Tractatus de discantu* – these descriptions seem to be an afterthought rather than part of an ordered argument:

*Boetius autem invenit fictam musicam propter duas causas, scilicet causa necessitatis et causa pulchritudinis cantus. Causa necessitatis est quod non poteramus habere consonantias in omnibus locis ut supra dictum est. Causa vero pulchritudinis ut patet in cantilenis.*³⁶

Boethius invented *musica ficta* for two reasons: for the sake of necessity, and for the sake of beauty. [Ficta] is used for the sake of necessity because we could not have consonances everywhere, as has been said. But [ficta is used] for the sake of beauty, indeed, as is shown in cantilenas.

By contrast, the connection between *musica ficta* and *contrapunctus* progressions can be clearly established from the early fourteenth century onwards.

³⁵ Anonymous II – *Tractatus de discantu*, ed. and trans. Seay 1978, 32-33. The *cantilena coronata* is described in Johannes de Grocheo’s *De musica*. This passage has also been discussed by Thomas Brothers, who interpreted the *causa pulchritudinis* in this instance to refer to the decoration of monophonic song by the use of inflections (Brothers 1997, 5-6).

³⁶ Wilkins 1964, 99; also Brothers 1997, 15-16

Petrus, for example, illustrated his explanations with musical examples of *musica falsa* and its place in *contrapunctus*:

*Si discantus sit ascendens et requirens diapente seu aliam speciem discantus ascendendo, tunc illa species discantus imperfecta debet perfici in discantu sustinendo semitonium. Et tunc amplius non erit semiditonus, immo ditonus perfectus et debet fieri insignum falsae musicae ante notam taliter elevatam, ut hic patet:*³⁷

If the discantus [i.e., upper voice] is ascending and needs to reach a fifth (or other interval) by ascent, this imperfect interval of the discant must be perfected by sustaining a semitone. And this will not be a minor third, but a major third; and there must be the sign of false music in front of the note that has been raised in such a way, as this shows:

Ex. 2.3 Petrus frater dictus Palma ociosa, *Compendium*
ed. Wolf 1913-14, 514

This is followed by further examples of directed progressions:

Ex. 2.4 *Compendium*, ed. Wolf, 515

The examples of directed progressions given by Petrus use only sharps as *musica ficta*, keeping flats for examples of *causa necessitatis*; however, the near-contemporary *Ars discantus secundum Johannem de Muris* shows progressions using both sharps and flats:

Ex. 2.5 *Ars discantus secundum Johannem de Muris*, CS III, 72

The examples given in Prosdocimus's *Contrapunctus* and Ugolino's *Declaratio* each combine flats and sharps, and are less schematic than those found in earlier *contrapunctus* treatises; similar progressions using augmented fourths, for example, are to be found both in Machaut's chansons and in some of the music of the Trecento.³⁸

Prosdocimus prefaced his example with this explanation:

Quanto consonantia imperfecta magis appropinquat perfecte ad quam accedere intendit, tanto perfectior efficitur, et inde dulcior armonie causatur. Et ut melius supradicta intelligantur, pono hoc exemplum:

³⁷ *Compendium*, ed. Wolf 1913-14, 513-514

³⁸ Examples are given in the following chapter.

The closer the imperfect consonance approaches the perfect one it intends to reach, the more perfect it becomes, and the sweeter the resulting harmony. And so that what has been said above may be the better understood, I present this example:³⁹

Ex. 2.6 Prosdocimus, *Contrapunctus*, ed. Herlinger 1984, 81

Ugolino, too, explains that such alterations are made in order to create “sweet harmony”:

In his demonstratis exemplis causas fictionis musicae fictae comprehendimus, quas B et clare demonstrant; demonstrant enim B et b perfectionem quam faciunt dissonantiis imperfectis et dulcem harmoniam eisdem quam tribuunt.

In these examples we see the reasons for inventing musica ficta shown by b-fa and b-mi, which illustrate the perfection they make out of imperfect dissonances and the sweet harmony they bestow upon them.⁴⁰

Ex. 2.7 Ugolino d’Orvieto, *Declaratio*, ed. Hughes 1972, 31

As Karol Berger noted, these examples contradict the suggestion by Margaret Bent and Andrew Hughes that there was a preference for *musica recta* over *ficta*, where a choice existed. Bent wrote that, “The primary rule for applying accidentals is that *musica recta* should be used rather than *musica ficta* where possible”;⁴¹ Hughes cited Ugolino’s phrase “*Intelligimus quod musica ficta nisi necessitate cogente penitus non utamur*” – “We know that we may use *musica ficta* only where absolutely necessary”.⁴² This echoed Prosdocimus’s advice that *musica ficta* should be used only where necessary – “*Ficta musica ... nunquam ponenda est nisi loco neecessitatis*”.⁴³ However, while this statement might be understood to imply a preference for *recta* notes, Karol Berger pointed out that Prosdocimus’s example, like Ugolino’s, displayed no such preference:

“Were this claim justified, it would follow that, when confronted with the choice of using B-flat or F-# (and other things being equal), we should choose the former, since B-flat (unlike other ‘black-key’ steps) belongs to *musica vera* ... But it is interesting to observe that even Prosdocimus forgets about *recta*

³⁹ *Contrapunctus*, ed. Herlinger 1984, 82-85

⁴⁰ Hughes 1972, 23; translation *ibid.*, 31

⁴¹ Bent 1984, 83.

⁴² Hughes 1972, 21; translation *ibid.*, 30

⁴³ *Contrapunctus*, ed. Herlinger 1984, 70-73

preference when he considers the question whether one inflects the lower or upper voice when one is forced by necessity to ‘color’ a vertical consonance.”⁴⁴

2.3 Forbidden Intervals: Dissonance in *Contrapunctus* and *Discantus*

While *contrapunctus* treatises habitually listed consonant intervals as a preface to the rules, a large proportion did not so much as mention discords: many theorists regarded them as forbidden sonorities, and so did not attempt to formulate rules for their use. As Sarah Fuller has written:

“[Theorists’] categorical exclusion of dissonance (a legacy from the thirteenth century) amounts to a conviction that dissonance is non-structural and cannot participate in a legitimately formulated sonority.”⁴⁵

Where dissonance was discussed, the attitude was one of disapproval: this too had been passed on from the theory of thirteenth-century discant. The anonymous St Emmeram treatise, *De musica mensurata*, was especially emphatic; after giving a standard definition of discord, the author apologised for even mentioning such intervals:

Concordantia dicitur esse, quando duae voces sub eodem tempore proferuntur ita quod una secundum auditum potest compati cum altera. Discordantia fieri dicitur e converso, id est, quando duae voces in eodem tempore proferuntur ita quod una non potest compati cum altera.

A concord is said to be when two notes are performed during the same unit of time in such a way that according to one’s hearing, one is compatible with the other. A discord is said to occur in the reverse way, that is, when two notes are performed at the same time in such a way that one is not compatible with the other.

Hic excusat se actor, quare de dissonantiis in hoc capitulo non voluit facere mentionem, dicens, quod cismata contumeliosa sunt et discrepantia. Nam voces ab invicem discordantes offendunt animam, in sensu particulari, utputa in aure, chacephaton generantes, et sic auditum impediunt et perturbant.

Here the author excuses himself, because he did not wish to make mention of dissonances in this chapter, saying that disunities [discords] are annoying and discrepant. For notes that are discordant with each other offend the mind, generating a cacophony for one particular sense, for example for the ear, and thus they hinder and disturb the hearing.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ K. Berger 1987, 83

⁴⁵ Fuller 1986, 40

⁴⁶ Yudkin 1990, 258-259 and 266-269

The discords referred to in such negative terms most often included the semitone, tritone and major seventh; some authors also listed the tone and the minor seventh. Two species of intervals underwent a change in status through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: the fourth was considered a concord – though not necessarily a perfect one – by writers on discant; however, it was regarded by *contrapunctus* theorists as a discord, because it could not form the resolution of an imperfect consonance – which was a requirement of perfect consonances in the context of counterpoint. Both major and minor sixths had been regarded as dissonances in thirteenth-century theory; but, as directed progressions became the basis of fourteenth-century musical language, the major sixth was ‘promoted’ on the grounds of its attraction to the octave. The minor sixth remained classed as a discord for longer: it was not until the rules of *contrapunctus* became less rigid that the progression of minor sixth to perfect fifth was seen as acceptable.

Johannes de Garlandia, the first theorist to oppose the categories of concord and discord, established the formula for the definition of a discord:

Discordantia dicitur esse, quando duae voces iunguntur in eodem tempore, ita quod secundum auditum una vox non potest compati cum alia.

Dissonance is said to be when two pitches are joined together in the same *tempus* so that according to the sense of hearing one pitch cannot be blended with the other.⁴⁷

This definition, together with Johannes de Garlandia’s subdivisions of concords and discords, continued to be applied into the early fourteenth century; for example, Anonymous I’s *Tractatus de consonantiis musicalibus* (c1300) continued to class the fourth as a consonance:

*Discordantiarum due sunt species: perfecta scilicet et imperfecta. Perfecta discordia est quando voces in eodem prolate tempore compati se non possunt secundum auditum. Et sunt quatuor scilicet: semitonium, tritonus, semitonium cum diapente, ditonus cum diapente ... Discordia imperfecta est, quando due voces in eodem tempore prolate, secundum auditum quodammodo se compati [non] possunt, sed discordant ... scilicet: tonum, tonum cum diapente, semiditonus cum diapente.*⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *De mensurabili musica*, ed. Reimer 1972, 71; translation, Fuller 1981, 75

⁴⁸ CS I, 299b and 300b

There are two types of discord: namely, perfect and imperfect. A perfect discord is when voices in the same *tempus* and prolation are incompatible to the hearing. And there are four, namely: semitone, tritone, minor sixth and major seventh. An imperfect discord is when two voices in the same *tempus* and prolation are compatible to the hearing in a certain manner, but make a dissonance, namely: the tone, major sixth and minor seventh.

Marchetto da Padova, in the *Lucidarium*, was among the earliest theorists to refer to directed progressions; though he did not use the term *contrapunctus*, he gave the principle of imperfect-to-perfect resolution as a factor in his explanation of interval classification:

Alie vero dissonantie, sive dyaphonie, ideo non compatiuntur ab auditu, quia etsi moveantur sursum et deorsum, non tamen ante consonantiam per minorem distantiam sunt distantes.

Other dissonances [apart from thirds and sixths] or diaphonies are incompatible to the ear because, though [their notes] may be moved upward and downward, they do not lie at the smallest distance from that consonance.⁴⁹

This principle was expanded by Petrus frater dictus Palma ociosa in his *Compendium* – though, by this point, interval classification had altered somewhat, with the fourth no longer being considered consonant:

*Sed sciendum est, quod illae species discantus praedictae dicuntur dissonantiae, eo quod nullo modo possunt se diu compati secundum auditum, quin generent discordantiam. Est autem discordantia diversorum sonorum sibimet permixtorum ad aures pervenientium dura collisio.*⁵⁰

But it must be known that these intervals of discantus mentioned before [i.e., semitone, fourth, tritone, minor sixth, minor seventh and major seventh] are called dissonances, since they are in no way compatible for any length of time to the hearing, because they create a discord. A discord is a harsh collision of different sounds mixed together [and] striking the ears.

The same list of discords is found in the *Ars Contrapunctus secundum Philippum de Vitriaco*, together with a warning against their use:

*Alie vero sex species videlicet tonus, semitonium, dyatessaron, tritonus, ditonus cum dyapente et semiditonus cum dyapente sunt discordantes. Et propter earum discordantiam ipsis non utimur in contrapuncto.*⁵¹

⁴⁹ *Lucidarium*, ed. Herlinger 1985, 202-203

⁵⁰ *Compendium*, ed. Wolf 1913-14, 518

⁵¹ CS III, 27a

The other six intervals, namely the tone, semitone, fourth, tritone, major seventh and minor seventh, are discords. And because of their dissonance we do not use these in [strict] counterpoint.⁵²

It is clear that Johannes de Garlandia's subdivision of discords was retained, with certain modifications, well into the fourteenth century. Marchetto, for example, had distinguished between degrees of dissonance early on: in the sixth treatise of the *Lucidarium*, he discussed "How and why one [interval] is more consonant than another", comparing the fifth with the less consonant fourth.⁵³ The author of *Quatuor principalia*, writing in 1351, continued to divide discords into perfect and imperfect:

*Consonantiae vero discordantes sunt tres videlicet tonus, diatessaron et semitonium cum diapenthe. Ista dicuntur imperfectae discordantiae, ad differentiam dissonantiarum quae perfectae discordant; quae quidem dissonantiae, quatuor sunt species, scilicet semitonium, tritonus, semiditonus cum diapenthe et ditonus cum diapenthe. Unde perfecta discordantia dicitur, quando duae voces sic conjunguntur, quod se compati non possunt secundum auditum.*⁵⁴

The intervals that are discords are three, namely the tone, the fourth and the minor sixth. These are called imperfect discords, in contrast to dissonances that discord perfectly [i.e., completely]; of these dissonances there are four, namely the semitone, tritone, minor seventh and major seventh. These are called perfect discords because, when the two voices are joined together, they are not compatible to the hearing.

However, certain theorists continued to write on *contrapunctus* without referring at all to dissonance; in the Berkeley manuscript, discords were mentioned only with regard to florid song, in which a fast-moving upper voice might create passing fourths, seconds, or sevenths.⁵⁵ The more comprehensive treatises, of which Prosdocimus's *Contrapunctus* is one, expanded this qualification, asserting that discords did not belong in strict counterpoint. For example, after listing discordant intervals, Prosdocimus added:

Sed de dissonantia nullam faciam mentionem quantum ad suam maioritatem vel minoritatem, quoniam nulla dissonantia in contrapuncto proprie sumpto reperiri debet, licet bene in cantu fractibili reperiat, sed tunc non est cura utrum talis tunc maior vel minor existat.

⁵² The treatise contrasts the use of dissonances in strict counterpoint – *contrapunctus* – with that in florid song – *cantus fractibilis*; this distinction is discussed below.

⁵³ *Lucidarium*, ed. Herlinger, 224-225

⁵⁴ CS IV 278b-279a

⁵⁵ See below, 68

I shall not mention dissonance with respect to its major or minor quality, because no dissonance ought to be found in counterpoint construed in the proper sense, though it may well be found in florid melody, but in that case there is no concern whether such exists as major or minor.⁵⁶

Prosdocimus's separation of the fourth from other dissonances is unusual, given the late date of the treatise, though it hints at an Italian tradition of theoretical writing reaching back to Marchetto da Padova:

Scias tamen quod quarta et sibi equivalentes minus dissonant quam alie combinationes dissonantes.

You should know that the fourth and its equivalents are less dissonant than the other dissonant intervals.⁵⁷

(The prevailing fifteenth-century classification of the fourth as a dissonance did, however, affect his wording: while Marchetto described the fourth as “less consonant than the fifth”, Prosdocimus only claimed that it was “less dissonant” than other dissonant intervals.)⁵⁸ The same treatise, *Contrapunctus*, paid unusually thorough attention to the treatment of discords, even giving the following as its first rule of counterpoint:

Primo ergo regula est hec, quod discordantie superius nominate ... nullo modo in contrapuncto usitande sunt, eo quod propter ipsarum dissonantiam cordialiter armonie et nature inimicantur, que finis huius artis existere videtur.

The first rule is this: that the discords named above are not used in counterpoint in any way, because, on account of their dissonance, they are deeply hostile to harmony and nature, which seem to be the aims of this art.⁵⁹

Such an attitude to discords meant that very few theorists gave any practical instruction about their use, and those that did were mostly negative. The frequent inclusion of dissonance in definitions of discant may stem from discant's role, in the thirteenth century, as a complete method of composing a piece of music: this contrasted

⁵⁶ *Contrapunctus*, ed. Herlinger 1984, 44-45

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 40-41

⁵⁸ *Scias tamen quod quarta et sibi equivalentes minus dissonant quam alie combinationes dissonantes, ymo quodammodo medium tenent inter consonantias veras et dissonantias.* [You should know that the fourth and its equivalents are less dissonant than the other dissonant intervals; in a certain way, indeed, they hold the middle place between true consonances and dissonances.] *Ibid.*, 44-45

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 58-59

with *contrapunctus*, which in the fourteenth century was routinely described as a *basis* for composition. *Contrapunctus* alone would not result in a finished work.

Thirteenth-century discant, however, permitted dissonance as an approach to a consonance, despite the apparent distaste displayed by theorists. For example, Franco of Cologne had allowed certain, imperfect, discords to precede concords, particularly if they aided the pursuit of contrary motion:

Item sciendum est quod omnis imperfecta discordantia immediate ante concordantiam bene concordat ... Deinde proseguendo per consonantias, commiscendo quandoque discordantias in locis debitis, ita quod quando tenor ascendit, discantus descendat, vel e converso.

Every imperfect dissonance [i.e., major second, major sixth, minor seventh] sounds well immediately before a consonance. The discant then proceeds in consonances and occasionally mixes them at suitable points with dissonances, so that when the tenor is ascending, the discant is descending and vice versa.⁶⁰

Walter Odington likewise discussed the use of dissonance in thirteenth-century polyphony, using the term *concors discordia*:

Diaphonia est concors discordia inferiorum vocum cum superioribus, sic dicta quia non per totum proceditur per concordias, sed quia concordia sequens tollit offensionem discordiae prioris; et haec organum communiter appellatur.

Diaphony is a consonance-dissonance of lower parts with higher; and it is said to be this because, rather than moving by consonances throughout, a subsequent consonance is used to alleviate the harsh effect of a preceding dissonance. And this is the sort of composition commonly called *organum*.

*Quod compositioni cantuum organicorum quaedam omnium sunt circumstantiae convenientes, scilicet ut principaliter in consonantia fiant. Ed ad hoc notandum quod brevis quaecumque sita ante longam etsi discordet non vituperatur. Alio modo excusatur discordia ut in motetis coloratis quum scilicet super certum tenorem aliqua pars cantilena iteratur...*⁶¹

There are certain circumstances that apply to the composition of all kinds of polyphony, as, for example, that the consonant intervals predominate. And in this connection should be noted that no breve placed before a long is faulted, even if it makes a discord. Dissonance is permitted in other ways in *moteti colorati* [i.e., motets employing a reiterated rhythmic and/or melodic pattern] when some part of a song is repeated over the given tenor...⁶²

⁶⁰ *Franco of Cologne: Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Reaney and Gilles 1974, 68; trans. Sachs 1980

⁶¹ Walter Odington: *Summa*, ed. Hammond 1970, 127 and 140

⁶² Walter Odington, trans. Huff 1973, 7 and 27-28. Odington gives a musical example which includes seconds and fourths.

This attitude persisted into early fourteenth-century writings; even Anonymous II's *Tractatus de discantu*, which appears to be describing the emergence of *contrapunctus* rather than the practice of discant, described the latter as a combination of consonances and dissonances:

Componitur autem discantus ex consonantiis principaliter et ex dissonantiis incidentaliter, ut discantus sit per se pulchrior, et ut post ipsas magis consonantiis delectemur.

Discantus is thus composed principally from consonances and incidentally from dissonances, so that the discantus may be more beautiful in itself, and so that we may be more delighted by the consonances that come after these dissonances.⁶³

Perhaps the first writer to link the use of discords to *contrapunctus* was the anonymous author of *Volentibus introduci*; however, the emphasis is once again negative, strict counterpoint being contrasted with a description of what is evidently *cantus fractibilis*, the 'florid song' in which passing discords were permitted:

Alie autem [sunt] discordantes et illis non utimur in contrapunctu, nisi ubi nota dispertiretur in tribus partibus; tunc una illarum partium posset esse discordabilis, videlicet medie vel ubi tempus divideretur in pluribus partibus.

The other [intervals] are discords and we do not use them in *contrapunctus* except when a note is divided into three parts, and then one of those parts – the medial one, of course – may be discordant, or when the *tempus* is divided into numerous parts.⁶⁴

The attitude that discords simply did not fit into strict counterpoint remained current throughout the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth. Prosdocimus's rule prohibiting discords, given above, is one example; other authors avoided controversy by simply ignoring dissonance completely. Likewise, few thought that it was necessary to mention any allowances made for the gap between theory and practice – that is, for the means by which a framework of *contrapunctus* could be turned into a finished work; Petrus and Prosdocimus were among the few who gave any such advice. However, since singers were trained to improvise such decorations, this may have been thought unnecessary. Following his examples of directed progressions, Petrus wrote:

⁶³ Anonymous II, ed. Seay 1978, 32-33

⁶⁴ Sachs 1974, 173; trans. Fuller 1986, 65n

Insuper nota, quod, licet omnes species discantus antedictae decentius stant et ordinantur in locis praedictis quam in aliis quibuscumque, possunt tamen ordinari et fieri, ubicumque volueris, hoc cautius observato, quod unicuique speciei discantus debitus numerus tonorum et semitoniorum observetur modo et forma superius annotatis.

It is allowed that all the intervals mentioned above – decently standing and ordered in the aforementioned places, and in other places of whatever kind – may be ordered and made wherever you wish, provided that in each interval the numbers of tones and semitones be carefully observed in the method and form notated above.⁶⁵

Prosdocimus gives his readers similar licence following his exposition of the rules of counterpoint:

Reperiuntur etiam et alii modi dulcissimi cantandi, quos scribere foret valde difficile et forte impossibile, cum tales modi quodammodo infiniti sint, et diversis diversimode delectabiles, qua propter insurgit diversitas componentium, et ideo a scriptura relinquendi.

There are other extremely charming styles of singing to be found; to write them down would be exceedingly difficult and perhaps impossible, since such styles are in a certain way infinite – and delightful in different and various ways, on account of which a variety of compositional practices arises. Thus they are omitted from this account.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, a small number of authors gave examples of ‘florid song’ – sometimes in the form of multiple elaborations of a contrapuntal framework, rather in the manner of sixteenth-century divisions: this type of instruction was often termed *contrapunctus diminutus*.

2.4 *Contrapunctus Diminutus*

A few theorists, following an elementary instruction in strict counterpoint, gave details of a method of composition that would produce something more nearly approaching extant fourteenth-century music, in particular motets; several upper-voice notes were allotted to each note of the tenor. This was *contrapunctus diminutus*, ‘diminished counterpoint’, also referred to as *cantus fractibilis* or ‘florid song’.

⁶⁵ *Compendium*, Wolf 1913-14, 512; trans. Leech-Wilkinson 1985, 6

⁶⁶ *Contrapunctus*, ed. Herlinger 1984, 66-69

Its construction, according to these treatises, was simple: a framework of counterpoint was composed ‘note against note’; the melody of the upper voice was then ornamented, so that the consonances and progressions of the framework were preserved. This, in other words, was the *discantus* for which one had first to know *contrapunctus*.

The first surviving treatise describing this method was (as in so many other cases) Petrus’s *Compendium*, using the term *flores musice mensurabilis*, or ‘flowers of measured music’:

Dicunt enim flores musice mensurabilis, quando plures voces seu notulae, quod idem est, diversimode figuratae secundum uniuscuiusque qualitatem ad unam vocem seu notulam simplicem tantum quantitatem illarum vocum continentem iusta proportionem reducuntur.

Flowers of measured music are so called when several pitches or notes, which is the same thing, notated variously according to one and the same quality, are reduced to a single pitch or simple note containing the full quality of those pitches in just proportion.⁶⁷

Petrus illustrated this with twelve examples, all based on a simple contrapuntal structure and arranged by mensuration; **Ex. 2.8** shows two of these, based on the same tenor but using various rhythms in the upper voice. He explained:

Idcirco ego circa capacitatem ingenioli mei XII modos seu manieres de discantu mensurabili floribus adornato compilavi. Qui quidem modi seu manieres, prout cuilibet competit, ordinantur sub modo perfecto et imperfecto et sub tempore perfecto et imperfecto et sub prolatione maiori et minori.

I have, so far as my scant ingenuity allows, compiled twelve modes or manners of measured discant adorned with flowers; which twelve modes or manners, according to what is suitable, are ordered in perfect and imperfect *modus*, perfect and imperfect *tempus*, and in major and minor prolation.⁶⁸

Ex. 2.8 Petrus, *Compendium* (ed. Wolf, 517)
First mode of *flores musice mensurabilis*

Third mode of *flores musice mensurabilis*

The original contrapuntal structure retained consonances on the principal structural notes; in contrast to strict counterpoint, however, dissonances *were* permitted as long as

⁶⁷ *Compendium*, ed. Wolf 1913-14, 516-517; trans. Leech-Wilkinson 1985, 6

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 517; trans. Leech-Wilkinson 1985, 7

they were passing, or occurred on short note-values. Petrus continued, after listing the dissonant intervals:

Nota, quod quamvis in istis dissonantiis non debeamus diutius commorari, possumus tamen ascendere et descendere per eas breviter ad omnes alias species sive differentias discantus tam perfectas et medias quam etiam imperfectas.

Note that although we must not remain for long in these dissonances, we may, however, briefly ascend or descend through them to all other species or intervals of discant, the perfect and median as well as the imperfect.⁶⁹

The anonymous author of *De diminutione contrapuncti*, part of the *Ars contrapuncti secundum Johannem de Muris*, illustrated this technique in a similar fashion.⁷⁰ The same system was also mentioned in the anonymous *Ars contrapunctus secundum Philippum de Vitriaco*: while this treatise did not give details of *contrapunctus diminutus*, it referred to *cantus fractibilis* in its discussion of discords, describing the type of dissonance found in Petrus's examples:

*Propter earum discordantiam ipsis non utimur in contrapuncto, sed bene eis utimur in cantu fractibili in minoribus notis, ut quando semibrevis vel tempus in pluribus notis dividitur, id est in tribus partibus; tunc una illarum trium partium potest esse in specie discordanti.*⁷¹

Because of their dissonance we do not use these in [strict] counterpoint, but we use them in florid song in short notes, such as when a semibreve or tempus value is divided into several notes, i.e., into three parts; then, one of these three parts may be a dissonance.

However, despite the ostensible proscription of discord, one suspects that the Berkeley treatise expressed a composer's true attitude in remarking bluntly that *contrapunctus diminutus* without discords would be "exceedingly tedious":

Item notandum est, quod quia impossibile, vel maxime difficile et tediosum etiam esset nimis, omnes voces in concordanciis situare vocibus diversis, licitum est earum aliquas ponere dissonantes, sic tamen quod maior pars vel saltem equalis sit consonans.

It must be noted that since it would be impossible or very difficult (and also exceedingly tedious) to situate all syllables in concord with various other

⁶⁹ Ibid., 518; trans. Leech-Wilkinson 1985, 8

⁷⁰ A transcription is given in Sachs 1974, 146-147

⁷¹ CS III 27a

syllables, it is possible to make some of them dissonant, as long as the greater part, or at least half, are consonant.⁷²

This author's musical examples also tended to the practical: described as *verbulae*, they consisted of melodic formulae of varying rhythms, though without clefs, to be used to decorate a composer's own contrapuntal framework. Further instructions on the permitted degree of dissonance were also supplied:

Item notandum est quod licet quamlibet consonanciam a voce dissonante incipere et finire, dum tamen illa vox sit minoris valoris medietate illius consonantie; potest tamen esse equalis in sincopando.

It must be noted that one may begin and end any consonance with a dissonant syllable, as long as that syllable is of a smaller value by half than the consonance; it can, however, be equal in syncopation.⁷³

One of the latest fourteenth-century authors to discuss *contrapunctus diminutus* was Antonius de Leno. The musical examples given in his *Regule de contrapuncto*⁷⁴ had less in common with the French repertory than did those given by Petrus or the Berkeley author; Antonius's treatment of rhythm, for example, was closer to the style of Trecento compositions. Sachs noted that these examples had the character of teaching material rather than of existing pieces of music, and suggested that they formed part of a primer in the technique of diminution.⁷⁵ However, it was not until Tinctoris's 1477 *Liber de arte contrapuncti*⁷⁶ that *contrapunctus diminutus* was accorded a detailed analysis of the permitted use of discords.

⁷² Berkeley, ed. Ellsworth 1984, 132-133

⁷³ Ibid., 132-133. Perhaps the earliest mention of syncopation in its 'harmonic' context rather than that of rhythm notation occurs in Johannes Boen's *Musica* of 1357 (Frobenius 1971, 68).

⁷⁴ CS III, 307-328. An edition has been made by Albert Seay (Seay 1977a), though this may not be entirely reliable.

⁷⁵ Sachs 1974, 142

⁷⁶ CS IV, 76-153

2.5 Individual Approaches: Marchetto da Padova and Johannes Boen

The theory of *contrapunctus*, both strict and *diminutus*, might be sufficient for an understanding of some of the simpler French songs of the fourteenth century. It does not, however, deal with two important aspects that are essential to Machaut's musical language: chromatic intervals and structural dissonance. While these will be examined in the following chapter, it is significant that these unorthodox characteristics were discussed by two of the more *avant-garde* theorists of that century, Marchetto da Padova and Johannes Boen.

In his discussion of intervals in counterpoint, Boen examined the use of augmented and diminished intervals. While averring that, of thirds, only the major and minor should be used, he admitted that in certain cases an augmented second – which approached a minor third – had been used very effectively; he illustrated this with the motet *Cum venerint*,⁷⁷ in which such a second occurs between the B-flat in b.4 of the motetus and the implied C-sharp in the tenor's ascending line:

Et non sunt plures tertie quam hec due, que dicte sunt, sicut nec alie sexte quam supradicte, quod experientie relinquo auditus.

Ex quo concludo mothetum Cum venerint in principio secundi modi sui sub correctione tanti sui artificis esse defectuosum, ubi tertiam inter duas claves taliter disposuit:

Ex. 2.9 (a) Johannes Boen, *Musica*, ed. Frobenius, 67

Inter quas notas tonus est una cum semitonio maiore et sic minus quam tertia dytonalis, que perfecta dicitur, plus vero quam semiditonalis, que imperfecta dicitur; nam si littera ♭-mi primam non prederet, esset inter eas precise tonus, ad quam distantiam littera ♭-mi apposita addit semitonium maius per primam suppositionem partis precedentis. Pro excusatione tamen tanti artificis potest dici, quod debeat admitti, quia asperitas eius dulcibus circumstantiis est suffulta.⁷⁸

And there are no more thirds than these two, which have been mentioned, just as there are no other sixths than those mentioned above, which I leave to experience.

⁷⁷ Anon: *Se grace n'est Cum venerint Tenor: Ite missa est* which functions as the *Ite missa est* of the Tournai Mass.

⁷⁸ *Musica*, ed. Frobenius 1971, 67-68

From which I deduce the motet *Cum venerint*, at the beginning of the second modus, to be deficient, despite the correction of its own great art, at the point where a third is formed thus between two pitches:

Between these notes there is a tone together with a major semitone, which is therefore less than a major third (known as perfect) but more than a minor third (known as imperfect). For if the first *b-mi* sign did not precede [the notes], there would be an exact tone between them; to this the *b-mi* sign adds a major semitone by being placed before the first note. To excuse so great an artifice, however, it can be said that it must be allowed because the harshness is supported by the sweetness of the circumstances.

(b) Anon: *Se grace n'est/ Cum venerint. Tenor: Ite missa est*
b. 1-9, *PMFC* I, 129

Later in the treatise, he described this type of interval as *consonantia per accidens* – a dissonant interval made consonant through a pitch inflection.⁷⁹ He took pains to distinguish these from ‘true’ consonances by the slight difference in their tuning: this was a result of the respective measurements of the chromatic semitone (such as C natural to C sharp, also termed a major semitone) and the diesis (for example C sharp to D natural, a minor semitone):

*Tria sunt genera consonantiarum per accidens: Tonus cum duobus semitonis minoribus, id est dytonus solo commate imperfectus, tritonus et dyatessaron. Que merito consonantie per accidens vocantur, nam per se sine adiunctione supradictarum consonantiarum aures stupefacerent potius quam mulcerent.*⁸⁰

There are three types of consonances *per accidens*: the tone with two minor semitones – that is, a major third imperfected only by a comma – the tritone, and the fourth. They deserve to be called consonances *per accidens* [‘accidental consonances’] because, by themselves, without additions of the above-named consonants, they stupefy the ears rather than soothing them.

Examples of augmented and diminished intervals, both direct and mediated, can be found throughout Machaut’s works; these are discussed in the following chapter. Johannes Boen also, uniquely, discussed the structural use of dissonance, giving examples from early fourteenth-century motets; this, and its relevance to the analysis of Machaut’s musical language, is likewise examined in the following chapter.

⁷⁹ Jerome of Moravia had previously used this term (Cserba 1935, 64-65), but used it to mean the alteration of an imperfect consonance, by means of an inflection, to give a perfect consonance.

⁸⁰ *Musica*, ed. Frobenius 1971, 74

Like Johannes Boen, Marchetto da Padova was preoccupied with measuring intervals and divisions of the whole tone. In defining the chromatic semitone,⁸¹ Marchetto gave musical examples which were strikingly similar to the more adventurous early Trecento madrigals:

Ex. 2.10 Marchetto, *Lucidarium*, ed. Herlinger 1985, 150-151

While this division of the tone might appear to be of academic rather than practical interest, such progressions were not confined to Marchetto's writings, but reflected the Italian compositions of the early fourteenth century: indeed, his motet *Mater innocente* makes use of an augmented second.. Marie-Louise Martinez-Göllner, in a study of Marchetto's chromatic writing, observed:

“We might consider this a purely theoretical consideration were it not for the fact that similar examples can be found in most of the Trecento manuscripts. This applies particularly to the half-step progression just described [C →C-sharp →D, F →F-sharp →G, etc.] but also to such unexpected intervals as G →c-sharp →d or B-flat →C-sharp →D.”⁸²

Such characteristics of the Trecento, in relation to Machaut's earlier works, are discussed in the following chapter.

⁸¹ A discussion of Marchetto's theoretical division of the tone is beyond the scope of this study; a definition is given in his *Lucidarium* (148-151).

⁸² Martinez-Göllner 1970, 192

3: Machaut's Musical Language

A thorough understanding of Machaut's musical language is clearly crucial to an informed interpretation of accidentals in the manuscripts of the composer's complete works. While the rules of *contrapunctus* can provide a foundation, they are too schematic to be sufficient in themselves; from his earliest polyphonic compositions, Machaut used these directed progressions as a basis for the expanded contrapuntal structures underlying his music - rather than simply stringing together directed progressions in the manner of the formulae found in treatises on *contrapunctus diminutus*. Machaut's compositions may be analysed in terms of structural levels: specifically, such an analysis can reveal differentiation between a number of levels – for example, the 'surface' comprising melodic decoration, a medial level on which voice-leading can be mapped out, and the underlying *contrapunctus* framework of cantus and tenor. While this model should not be taken to suggest an actual method of composition – any more than, perhaps, the teaching examples found in primers of *contrapunctus diminutus* – it can be useful in explaining the structure of a work in terms of its tonal orientation.

3.1 Analysing Machaut: *Contrapunctus* and Structure

The importance of counterpoint to the understanding of fourteenth-century music is inherent in the explanation of Petrus frater dictus Palma ociosa that his *flores musice mensurabilis* – which are as close an approximation to 'real music' as one is likely to find among *contrapunctus* treatises – could be reduced to single notes of an equivalent value:

Dicunt enim flores musice mensurabilis, quando plures voces seu notulae, quod idem est, diversimode figuratae secundum uniuscuiusque qualitatem ad unam vocem seu notulam simplicem tantum quantitatem illarum vocum continentem iusta proportione reducuntur.

Flowers of measured music are so called when several pitches (or notes, which is the same thing) notated variously according to one and the same quality, may be reduced to a single pitch or simple note containing the full quality of those pitches in just proportion.¹

Daniel Leech-Wilkinson pointed out the remarkable similarity between this description and some modern approaches to musical analysis:

“It is difficult to see Petrus’ definition as anything other than analytical: flowers of measured music are to be recognised by the fact that they can be reduced to a single pitch having the total duration of the decorations so reduced. They are ‘flowers’ because they decorate a structure which can be revealed when they are stripped away.”²

Sarah Fuller’s work on the analysis of fourteenth-century music also took this approach, in opposition to some of the more traditional approaches discussed in Chapter I; she stressed the importance of such reductions as analytical tools rather than compositional aids:

“The *contrapunctus* treatises invite us to work backwards from the complex surface of a polyphonic song to the basic consonances that bind the voices together. By concentrating the surface activity among voices into the essential consonances sounding within each breve unit, one can obtain a representation of voice-leading, interval progressions and fundamental tonal orientation over the course of ... an entire piece. The resulting simple counterpoint is often called the discant structure, or simply the *contrapunctus*. It must be understood as an analytic construct, an image created by the observer, rather than as an actual pre-compositional scaffolding.”³

Like Leech-Wilkinson, Fuller identified in the metamorphosis of thirteenth-century discant into *contrapunctus* “a differentiation in structural levels”:

“The new terminology distinguishes between the active surface of a polyphonic composition and a skeletal frame of essential consonances, a *fundamentum*, that supports it.”⁴

The idea of structural levels was central to Leech-Wilkinson’s theory of early music analysis: in his paper on *contrapunctus diminutus*, he discussed the examples

¹ *Compendium*, ed. Wolf 1913-14, 516-517; translation, Leech-Wilkinson 1985, 6

² Leech-Wilkinson 1985, 6

³ Fuller 1992a, 49-50

⁴ Fuller 1986, 38

given by Petrus, pointing out the use of surface melodic decoration – consonant skips, neighbour notes and passing notes – and showed how this could be stripped away to reveal the *contrapunctus* framework:⁵

Ex. 3.1 Progressive reduction of *contrapunctus diminutus*, using an example from Petrus' *Compendium*
Leech-Wilkinson 1991b, 178

This led to a consideration of structural dissonance: analysing another of Petrus' "flowers of measured music", Leech-Wilkinson noted that:

"Even at a relatively deep level, the dissonant sevenths are clearly very important. Structurally important dissonances often provide essential support for a smooth melodic line, even though they are not admitted into the *contrapunctus* rules."⁶

Their use of dissonance distinguished these examples from the more schematic and somewhat artificial ones given in *De diminutione contrapuncti*, which "had to resort to an inordinate number of consonant skips in order to provide consonance on each beat".⁷

This approach becomes particularly relevant in the analysis of Machaut's music, where structural dissonance serves an important function; it was illustrated in Leech-Wilkinson's study of Machaut's *Rose, Lis* (R10) in which the song was first examined in terms of text and hexachordal structure, then gradually 'broken down' into its structural components.⁸ On the surface level, recurring melodic motifs were brought out; the second stage revealed the *contrapunctus* structure of the rondeau – its directed progressions – while the third stage further reduced this to show the voice-leading of all four parts. Finally, the work was stripped down to the cantus-tenor pair, the fundamental structure underlying any fourteenth-century composition. Sarah Fuller used similar techniques in her analysis of Machaut's *J'aim mieux languir* (B7), which combined three points of view – the form of the text, the separate outlines of cantus and tenor, and

⁵ Leech-Wilkinson 1991b, 178

⁶ Leech-Wilkinson 1985, 11

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Leech-Wilkinson 1984

the contrapuntal structure.⁹ It is the combination of these two latter aspects that can, perhaps, help one to approach a ‘fourteenth-century view’ of a composition:

“In approaching the music, two fundamentally different perspectives may be imagined. One is that of an individual performer learning or practising his or her part alone, apart from the other strands of the polyphony. Another is that of a listener attuned to *contrapunctus*, sensitive to a firm framework of consonances between the participating voices.”¹⁰

Margaret Bent took the view that, ideally, a single manuscript line should supply a trained singer with sufficient information to sing his or her line correctly (with necessary adjustments made in rehearsal), given the final pitches of sections of the piece, and the few notated accidentals, as guides to likely inflections. She described the process thus:

“Singers read their own parts construing cadential formulas and melodic fourths according to a first default of melodic principles with an expected (but not yet known) simultaneous dimension. When singers hear the other part(s), the expected default may be overruled by the high priority correction of a simultaneous imperfect fifth or octave, or it may have to yield to a prior decision.”¹¹

The contrapuntal approach has enormous significance for anyone trying to determine the meaning of questionable manuscript accidentals in individual compositions: the reduction of a piece of music to its *contrapunctus* framework can reveal the hierarchy of pitches forming its fundamental structure, and aid decisions about the inflections associated with those pitches. In a more general context, such analyses can define the musical language of a particular composer; Sarah Fuller has examined the treatment of *contrapunctus* progressions, and of specific sonorities, through Machaut’s music. In her article “On Sonority in Fourteenth-Century Polyphony”, she categorised sonorities according to their stability and ‘degree of direction’; this led her to examine the effects of progressions within individual compositions and their dependence upon a number of factors, including voice-leading.

⁹ Fuller 1987

¹⁰ Ibid., 39

¹¹ Bent 1998, 25

the notes in common between a progression's constituent sonorities, and its position within a phrase or within the mensural unit. She summarised this as follows:

“Just as sonorities can be imagined along a continuum from unquestionably stable to extremely unstable, so progressions can be posited along an imaginary continuum from neutral or non-committed to definitely directed.”¹²

Her exploration of Machaut's use of sonorities was taken further in a subsequent article:¹³ through analysis along the lines described above, she outlined Machaut's unorthodox reinterpretation of *contrapunctus* rules, citing works beginning on imperfect rather than perfect consonances or phrases ending on unstable sonorities:

“For Machaut, the directed progression is far more than a conventional formula for terminating a phrase or a composition. It is a significant artistic resource through which tonal orientation can be defined or shifted, phrase or section endings bridged.”¹⁴

This approach has recently been carried further by Elizabeth Leach, who has used principles of *contrapunctus* to analyse vocal scoring in Machaut's ballades.¹⁵

3.2 Machaut's Counterpoint

Machaut's development of standard *contrapunctus* formulae had several different functions: these might be described as the expansion of progressions to create a contrapuntal structure where none was supplied by a pre-existing tenor;¹⁶ the avoidance of expected resolutions in voice-leading; and the unorthodox resolution of unstable sonorities.

¹² Fuller 1986, 51

¹³ Fuller 1992b

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 252

¹⁵ Leach 1997

¹⁶ Indeed, his treatment of such progressions in the motets was generally more limited than that in the *formes fixes*: a slow-moving tenor was, necessarily, less tonally flexible than that of a freely-composed song.

3.2.1 Expanded progressions

Probably the most direct method of creating a large-scale structure from *contrapunctus* progressions was simply to expand them – “prolongation”, to use Sarah Fuller’s term. A typical example is given from *Ne penses pas* (B10); here the progression F#-a to G-g is extended over bars 33-35:

Ex. 3.2 *Ne penses pas* (B10), b.31-35, and reduction

Likewise, in *Se je me pleing* (B15), the prolongation of an E-flat leads to the D-d sonority at b.9:

Ex. 3.3 *Se je me pleing* (B15), b.7-9, and reduction

Similarly, the widespread convention of flattening notes in descending lines (utilised in progressions such as minor third to unison) is broken by an initially puzzling #-f in *Helas pour quoy* (R2), which could be explained as a long-range ‘leading-note’ to the G of b.21:

Ex. 3.4 *Helas pour quoy* (R2), b.25-31, and reduction

This strategy was not confined to chansons: as Sarah Fuller pointed out, the four opening bars of *Dame, je sui cilz/ Fins cuers doulz/ Tenor* (M11) are an expansion of the progression A→F-sharp to G→g, the resolution of which is deferred until b.4:

Ex. 3.5 *Dame, je sui cilz/ Fins cuers doulz/ Tenor* (M11), b.1-4, and reduction (Fuller 1992b, 242)

3.2.2 Voice-leading

A second strategy is Machaut’s manipulation of voice-leading: here, the resolution of an unstable sonority would take place, but would be heard in a different

register, a different voice, or both. One of the clearest examples occurs in *Honte, paour* (B25): here the descending cantus phrase, ending on a low F-sharp, leaps a minor ninth to its resolution, thus preparing for further descent:

Ex. 3.6 *Honte, paour* (B25), cantus, b.1-4

Machaut used this technique extensively in his monophonic virelais, in order to fit the range to the capabilities of the singer, and further examples of such voice-manipulation can be found throughout the *formes fixes*. For example, in *Amours me fait* (B19) the triplum C-sharp serves as a leading-note to the tenor D, allowing both voices to fit around the cantus:

Ex. 3.7 *Amours me fait* (B19), b.6-9

In *Doulz viaire gracieus* (R1), this is taken to its extreme, as each voice provides the resolution to the unstable sonority ending the preceding phrase; the cantus F-sharp is resolved by the tenor G, and in turn the tenor's F-sharp leads to the cantus and triplum Gs:

Ex. 3.8 *Doulz viaire gracieus* (R1), b.6-9

This technique was also suited to motets, and can be found as early as M1, *Quant en moy/ Amour et biauté/ Amara valde*: here, a triplum F-sharp is resolved first by the tenor and then by the motetus G:

Ex. 3.9 *Quant en moy/ Amour et biauté/ Amara valde* (M1)
b.91-100, and reduction

In the double ballade *Quant Theseus/ Ne quier voir* (B34), Machaut made extensive use of this technique; indeed, accidentals appear to have been notated

specifically to ensure that the leading-notes were sharpened by singers who might otherwise be misled by the lack of a resolution in their own part:

Ex. 3.10 *Quant Theseus/ Ne quier voir* (B34)

(a) b.1-2, and reduction

(b) b.22-23, and reduction

In both cases, the unstable sonority, containing the F-sharp, overlaps its resolution C-G: this may be the reason why these progressions were marked with manuscript accidentals rather than being implied (as they were in, for example, b.22). B34 gives one of the clearest examples of Machaut's manipulation of individual voices: by creating lines that favoured certain pitch inflections above others, the composer sought to prevent singers from altering his music in ways detrimental to the contrapuntal structure of a work. Where this was not possible, the necessary accidentals were notated. Had the #-f in b.23 [Ex. 3.10(b)] been omitted, the singer would be likely to have sung F-natural: the basic rules of solmization trained musicians to avoid melodic tritones in such situations. Similarly, in addition to providing smoother lines in both voices, the crossing of tenor and contratenor at b.6 reinforces the notated accidentals:

Ex. 3.11 B34, b.6-7

Such techniques were most concentrated in the later ballades, particularly those of the *Voir Dit*, and Leech-Wilkinson has discussed similar voice-leading in the Mass (roughly contemporary with the *Voir Dit*).¹⁷ The techniques of cross-resolution and manipulation of line can also be found in the works of certain late-fourteenth century composers such as Solage and Jean Vaillant: in Solage's ballade *Le Basile*, for example, tenor and contratenor lines cross at several points in order to avoid false relations or

¹⁷ Leech-Wilkinson 1990 and 1993

uncharacteristically chromatic lines such as the F-natural to F-sharp in b.26, or the B-natural to B-flat in b.29-30:¹⁸

Ex. 3.12 Solage, *Le Basile* (CMM LIII, 1:189-191)

(a) b.24-26, and reduction

(b) b.28-30, and reduction

3.2.3 Unorthodox resolutions

Machaut's manipulation of *contrapunctus* progressions was at its most sophisticated in the unorthodox resolution of imperfect intervals (or, to use Fuller's terminology, unstable sonorities) by intervals other than their theoretically-approved resolutions; Leach has described these as "avoided progressions".¹⁹ Examples of this technique can be found throughout Machaut's songs: in as early a work as *S'amours ne fait* (B1) a minor third in b.5 is followed by a perfect fifth, instead of resolving to the expected unison; thus, rather than being enclosed within a F→C tonal orientation, the phrase is lead to a new tonal area:

Ex. 3.13 *S'amours ne fait* (B1), b.3-6, and reduction

The directed nature of many of these progressions required pitch inflections, notated or not: the less conventional the line, the less likely it was that the inflection would be left to chance, or to the perhaps variable skill of the performer. While one might expect unusual accidentals to be 'edited out' by scribes who had not encountered such a style of music before and assumed them to be wrong, the accidentals used in progressions such as those illustrated above are remarkably consistent throughout the Machaut manuscripts (with the exception of E, evidently copied outside Machaut's supervision); these variants will be discussed in the following chapters.

¹⁸ This appears to be one of a number of characteristics shared by Machaut and Solage, though the limits of this study do not permit a proper examination of the relationship between these composers, both associated with the Berry court; Thomas Brothers has also discussed this work in his study of manuscript accidentals (Brothers 1997, 142-3).

¹⁹ Leach 1997, xxi

3.3 Structural Dissonance

In addition to Machaut's use of dissonant intervals on a surface level of the music - a practice described in a small number of treatises - the composer built dissonances into the *contrapunctus* framework at a fundamental level: this possibility was not countenanced by fourteenth-century writers, with the single exception of Johannes Boen, whose advanced views on permitted melodic intervals and dissonance have been discussed in the previous chapter. Such a lack of regard in mainstream sources might explain why few musicologists have paid much attention to this aspect of Machaut's musical language. Their neglect is also connected with the debate on compositional techniques: supporters of "successive composition" saw any dissonance as purely accidental and unintended. Gilbert Reaney's view may be taken as typical:

"Some of the harmonies used by Machaut in three parts are explicable only as *successive counterpoint*, and even then we have seen that the theorists did not like them. Machaut, however, was no theorist, and he knew that a fifth was a perfect consonance. Two fifths, one from tenor to cantus and one from tenor to contra, were still consonances to him, and so he often employed what we shall term composite ninths ... Similarly the reason why triads are to be found in Machaut is that two thirds formed a fifth in three-part writing. There is no thought of the chord 5-3-1 as a unit."²⁰

This view – that any trained composer, let alone one as renowned as Machaut, was unable to imagine more than two voices simultaneously – was disputed by Leech-Wilkinson: in his article on *Rose, Lis*, he asserted that interpretations such as Reaney's "could never adequately explain the complexity of much of the surviving music."²¹ However, Bent's recent work on compositional techniques has refined the rather basic view illustrated by Reaney, stating that "the idea of 'successive composition' is but a poor and misunderstood shorthand for dyadic grammar."²²

Bent's 'dyadic' approach analysed works in terms of two fundamental parts, which were not restricted to the actual cantus and tenor but moved between voices as

²⁰ Reaney 1953, 137

²¹ Leech-Wilkinson 1984, 10

²² Bent 1998, 31

necessary; in this, as in its overlooking of dissonance as a structural tool, it adhered to basic writing on *contrapunctus*. While dissonant intervals created between contratenor and cantus or triplum were acknowledged, Bent suggested that they “seem to be guided by rules different from these tenor counterpoint rules, rules that we have yet to formulate”.²³ Leech-Wilkinson, however, had demonstrated the use of structural dissonance in both the *Messe de Notre Dame* and its approximate contemporary the *Voir Dit*,²⁴ seeing this as a characteristic of Machaut’s later compositions, and specifically those dating from the later 1350s and 1360s.

3.3.1 Johannes Boen

Given the prevalent censorious attitude to dissonant intervals throughout the fourteenth century, one would not expect theorists to contemplate their use as part of a *contrapunctus* framework; it is all the more remarkable, then, that one writer *should* discuss this – if not surprising that the author was Johannes Boen, perhaps the most adventurous theorist of the century. In his treatise *Musica* (1357) he plainly described seconds used in just this way, occurring in the motet *Floret cum vana gloria/ Florens vigor/ Neuma quinti toni*, and compared them to fourths and seconds in Vitry’s four-part *O canenda/ Rex quem metrorum*:²⁵

*Sic et secunda admittitur in motheto Florens vigor super verbo Mardocheo et secunda et quarta in tenore motheti Rex quem metrorum.*²⁶

Thus, a second is also permitted in the motet *Florens vigor*, at the word “Mardocheo”, and a second and a fourth [are allowed] in the tenor of the motet *Rex quem metrorum*.

The second in *Floret/ Florens* occurs between the Motetus and Tenor, and might be seen – in terms of the fundamental framework of the piece – as ‘passing’; since, however, the dissonance lasts longer than those permitted by treatises describing *cantus fractibilis*, it can be regarded as unusual:

²³ Ibid., 50

²⁴ Leech-Wilkinson 1990 and 1993

²⁵ Readings of this motet are found in **Trem**, Iv and other sources.

²⁶ *Musica*, ed. Frobenius 1971, 68

Ex. 3.14 *Floret/ Florens*, b.94-102, and reduction (Sanders 1975)

The motet was attributed, by Ernest Sanders, to Philippe de Vitry, on the grounds of the tenor's close similarity to that of Vitry's *Douce playsance/ Garison selon nature/ Neuma quinti toni*; however, both Leech-Wilkinson and Hoppin have questioned this.²⁷ The fourths and seconds in *O canenda/ Rex quem*, also formed between tenor and contratenor, are unmediated:

Ex. 3.15 *O canenda/ Rex quem*, contratenor and tenor, taleae II/ III

Leech-Wilkinson has suggested that these dissonances might not have been intentional, and proposed a slight change in the rhythm of the *talea* by means of which they could be avoided – though he allowed that they might indeed have been deliberate.²⁸ But in any case, Boen had clearly taken these intervals to be both intentional and, in the circumstances, acceptable, having written that “because the harshness is supported by the sweetness of the circumstances”.²⁹ Boen also discussed the use of diminished and augmented intervals, such as the augmented second – described above, in *Se grace/ Cum venerint* – or diminished seventh:³⁰

Ex. 3.16 Johannes Boen, *Musica*, 9

*In hoc exemplo distat utrumque extremum ipsius septime equaliter ab utroque extremo ipsius quinte, ad quam cantus declinat, spatio semitonii minoris.*³¹

²⁷ Sanders 1975. Leech-Wilkinson, however, wrote that, “I cannot share Sanders’ view that *Floret/ Florens* is by the composer of *Garrit/ In nova*, still less that of *Tribum* and *Firmissime*” (1995a, 302). Roesner, in the facsimile edition of the *Roman de Fauvel*, judged *Floret* to be the work of an imitator of Vitry. Hoppin suggested that “The melodies of *Floret-Florens* do not, perhaps, possess the intrinsic interest of Philippe de Vitry’s” (1955, 141).

²⁸ Leech-Wilkinson 1989, 42-43

²⁹ See 73, above

³⁰ Given Boen’s evident interest in the use of dissonant intervals, it may seem surprising that he did not cite any of Machaut’s works: this might be explained by the date of the treatise, which was completed in 1357 – only a short time after the first of the Machaut manuscripts, C. This could suggest a limited circulation for the motets during the first half of the century, or merely a preference on Boen’s part for older works; it is perhaps less likely to be due to a simple lack of opportunity, since Frobenius suggested that Boen wrote the *Musica* in Paris (Frobenius 1971, 9) where any ‘circulating’ motets would surely have been known.

³¹ Ibid.

In this example, both extremes of the seventh are equally distant from those of the fifth, to which the cantus descends by a minor semitone.

3.3.2 Structural Dissonance in Machaut's Music

Machaut's use of dissonance within the framework of his compositions took place at different structural levels. Dissonant intervals could be created by passing sonorities, or suspension-like figures, in a 'first-level' reduction – that is, one which removed melodic decoration but little else; however, they could also be used at a deeper level, that of the *contrapunctus* framework itself.

The passing dissonance, in this context, appears frequently in Machaut's Mass, in formulae such as the following (where the e of the motetus creates a passing seventh against the tenor):

Ex. 3.17 Mass, *Christe*, b.6-8
Leech-Wilkinson 1990, 184

Such sonorities in the *formes fixes* are largely concentrated amongst the later ballades, from B24 onwards, suggesting a development in the musical language of Machaut's later works, such as B28 and B34.

Similar to these passing discords are the suspensions which, at this first level of reduction, create dissonances: while ornamenting the essential *contrapunctus* framework, they can also be considered structural rather than purely decorative. For example, the extended chain of suspensions in *Une vipere en cuer* (B27) illustrates the blurred line between structural dissonance and 'decorative' suspension: the syncopations create chain of suspension-like figures, a structure described by Leach as concatenation. The diminished fifth at b.15, for instance, is succeeded by another dissonance, a fourth - though that is resolved in b.16 to a major 3rd.³²

³² E's contratenor for this work, which to some extent avoids these dissonances, is discussed in Chapter VII, 168.

Ex. 3.18 **(a)** *Une vipere en cuer* (B27), b.13-21

The use of dissonance is established as early in the piece as b.4, where a third is momentarily expanded to a fourth:

Ex. 3.18 **(b)** B27, b.3-6

A similar situation is found in B25: here, a chain of suspensions between the tenor and contratenor underlies the cantus:

Ex. 3.19 *Honte, paour* (B25), b.4-6, and reduction

Unprepared dissonances are also to be found in works of this period: a striking example is *Pas de tor* (B30), which begins with a ninth, echoed in the following bar by the contratenor:

Ex. 3.20 *Pas de tor* (B30), b.1-5

The dissonances described above have a dual function: they serve both as a part of the musical structure and as decoration. Other pieces, however, use dissonant intervals in a plainly structural role. Leech-Wilkinson had already remarked upon this startling transgression of basic fourteenth-century theory in his discussion of the Mass:

“One of the many advanced features of Machaut’s harmonic practice in the Mass is his increasing use of structural dissonance between tenor and contratenor.”³³

This tends to occur in sequences of contrary motion between the lower voices – where, for example, a second expands to a fourth, leading to a sixth and then an octave – as in the following passage:

Ex. 3.21 Mass: *Sanctus*, b.48-51 (Leech-Wilkinson 1990, 206)

³³ Leech-Wilkinson 1993, 45

The appearance of such progressions in songs roughly contemporary with the Mass – B28 or B34, for example – strongly suggest that the composer was experimenting, in these later works, with this controversial use of dissonance.

3.4 Manipulating *contrapunctus*

Machaut's manipulation of voice-leading and contrapuntal progressions inevitably shaped the melodic outline of his writing: his pervasive use of directed progressions resulted in an apparent chromaticism, while their manipulation could give rise to vocal lines which appeared to disobey melodic conventions (a by-product of *contrapunctus*) of, for instance, raising pitches in ascending lines and lowering them in descent. This chromaticism is exemplified in works such as *Honte, paour* (B25) or *Doulz amis* (B6): the effect of such a concentration of directed progressions is to create chromatic intervals, such as tritones or diminished seconds, in the melodic line. An example of the latter is seen in b.15-16 of *Doulz amis*, where the B-flat in a descending line is followed (with an intervening A) by a notated G-sharp, part of a sustained unstable sonority over a tenor E; this E-G# has a somewhat 'staggered' resolution to D-a in bar 18:

Ex. 3.22 *Doulz amis* (B6), b.14-18, and reduction

The e-g# sonority is first heard at the start of the ballade:

Ex. 3.23 *Doulz amis* (B6), b.1-6, and reduction

Here, the notation of a *b* in bar 5 of the cantus suggests that the tenor note would be sung as G-natural. (However, as the cantus *b* is notated in all Machaut manuscripts except C, it is possible that the accidental was notated in error in the exemplar at some point – perhaps misreading a signature flat – and was never corrected. An alternative

explanation has been given by Elizabeth Leach: she introduces a ‘signature’ of \flat and \flat -e into the cantus before the second E of b.3, thus changing the unstable sonority to E *flat*-G natural.)³⁴

Such chromatic lines are also seen in B25, which demonstrates a concentration of inflections characteristic of Machaut; as Lucy Cross noted, the use of such intervals can distinguish the musical language of particular composers:

“What is ‘unconventional’ in one place, for one composer, may become ‘conventional’ in another, even for a contemporary. Melodic tritones, for instance, are frequent in Machaut and Matteo da Perugia and totally absent in Ciconia.”³⁵

Part of Cross’s study examined such intervals and their effect in the music of various composers: for example, she compared Machaut’s use of tritones to that in later compositions (such as those of Matteo da Perugia), pointing out Machaut’s habit of using contratenor tritones to provide a ‘leading-note’ at cadential points – as in *Amours me fait* (B19) or *Phyton, le merveilleus serpent* (B38) – though she did not link this formula with its function within a directed progression:

Ex. 3.24 (a) *Amours me fait desirer* (B19), b.1-4
 (b) *Phyton le merveilleus serpent* (B38), b.1-3

Inflections might also occasionally be notated against melodic or contrapuntal convention, perhaps to divert the listener from an expected resolution without providing an alternative progression. Examples are to be found in *Dame ne regardes pas* (B9), where the sharpened Fs suggest an eventual resolution to G without functioning as *actual* leading-notes; those Fs which approach the final D→G sonority *descend* to the D (i.e., F-natural→E-natural→D) rather than ascending (through F-sharp) to the G – allowing Machaut to play with the expectations of the listener by promising a resolution that never happens:

³⁴ Leach 1997, 116

³⁵ Cross 1990, 213

Ex. 3.25 *Dame ne regardes pas* (B9)
 (a) b.1-7
 (b) b.58-65

Another clear example occurs in the contratenor of *Ploures, dames* (B32): where a B-flat might be expected – giving a perfect fourth in that line – a # sign creates a melodic tritone:

Ex. 3.26 *Ploures, dames* (B32), b.1-4

This inflection, over D, suggests an impending resolution to C – though this is deferred. Other examples illustrate the problems of transmission encountered within this group of accidentals: since they appeared unconventional in the context of single line, an intervening scribe would have been likely to omit them. *Quant j'ay l'espart* (R5), as it appears in **Vg** and **B**, contains a notated melodic tritone which also suggests a progression from b-d to unison c's:

Ex. 3.27 *Quant j'ay l'espart* (R5), b.6-11, **VgB**

However, as this # appears only in **Vg** and the closely-related **B**, it is possible that this accidental was an initiative or error on the part of **Vg**'s scribe: the cantus B-flat may also have been a misreading from score notation, in which the flat had been intended to give F-natural in the tenor line. A comparable example can be found in *Ce qui soustient moy* (R12), where the # in b.7 of the tenor appears only in **Vg** and **B**:

Ex. 3.28 *Ce qui soustient moy* (R12), b.6-10, **VgB**

The notation of a B-flat signature in the following stave and the creation of a melodic tritone both suggest that the B-natural is in some way incorrect; however, it cannot be explained away as an indication of a tenor F-sharp at b.8, because of the cantus F-natural at that point. Here the most likely explanation may be **Vg**'s misreading of its exemplar. These anomalies recalls Karol Berger's categorisation of "conventional" and "unconventional" accidentals:

“All accidentals found in practical sources of vocal polyphony of our period may be divided into two classes. Some accidentals had to be written down by the composer or by whoever edited a given version of the piece because there was no possibility of implying them. Other accidentals might have been written down by the composer or by the editor of a given version, but they might just as well have been merely implied by the composer or editor and written down by someone else, a scribe or a performer. We may thus distinguish ‘unconventional’ source accidentals which must be ‘authorial’ (if it is understood that the term ‘author’ refers here not only to the composer but also to the editor of a given version) from conventional ones which may be ‘non-authorial’.”³⁶

Seen in this light, accidentals of the type illustrated above would be both “authorial” and “unconventional” (with the exceptions of **Ex. 3.27** and **3.28**). However, their very unconventionality meant that their transmission was jeopardised in future copies: to a scribe accustomed to standard progressions, they would simply ‘look wrong’, and might easily be omitted as the mistakes of an earlier copyist. The distribution of such accidentals varies from one source to another, even within the Machaut manuscripts, often giving an indication of transmission patterns, editorial policy or scribal practice.

3.5 Machaut and the Trecento?

In looking for parallels with Machaut’s ‘chromatic style’, particularly in the early ballades, some of the closest models appear to be Trecento compositions. The theoretical examples of apparently extreme chromaticism given by Marchetto da Padova have their parallels in Italian compositions of the early fourteenth century: as Jan Herlinger wrote, “even Marchetto’s wildest progressions can be traced to the repertory of the early Trecento”.³⁷ For example, the sacred *Iste formosus* (found in the Padua fragments) contains both mediated and unmediated chromatic semitones, as does the anonymous madrigal *Seghugi a corta* (in FP):

- Ex. 3.29** (a) Anon., *Iste formosus*, b.1-6 (*PMFC* XII, 114)
 (b) Anon., *Seghugi a corta*, b.57-64 (*PMFC* VIII, 1:87-88)

³⁶ K. Berger 1987, 174

³⁷ Herlinger 1985, 380-381

While these chromatic semitones may appear foreign to the French Ars nova style (and do not appear to have been the subject of French theoretical writings), occasional examples can be found even among Machaut's mature compositions. The following progression occurs in the Mass at the end of the *Credo Amen*:

Ex. 3.30 Machaut, Mass: *Credo Amen*, b.34-37
(Leech-Wilkinson 1990, 203)

Chromatic semitones mediated by melodic decoration are more typical of Machaut's musical language, such as this progression in *De petit peu* (B18):

Ex. 3.31 *De petit peu* (B18), b.21-24

Further chromaticism can be found in Italian compositions such as the madrigal *L'anticho dio Biber*,³⁸ which incorporates a descending progression that Marchetto had classed as "less natural and less appropriate" on account of its improper resolution (since the diesis did not function as a leading-note); the diplomatic transcription below shows the notation of accidentals, #-c followed by ♭-c, in the manuscript:

Ex. 3.32 (a) Marchetto, *Lucidarium*, 155
 (b) *L'anticho dio Biber*, b.6-9 (CMM VIII, I:140)

Lucy Cross, in her examination of the use of chromatic intervals, pointed out a number of English examples as well as those from the Trecento; however, though she cited the *Credo* of Machaut's Mass as an instance of a direct chromatic semitone, she ignored possible connections between Machaut's musical language and any other fourteenth-century chromaticism. While any thought of such connections is obviously speculative – Marchetto's writings, for example, appear to have had little impact on French theorists – there are nevertheless similarities between certain Trecento works and

³⁸ *L'anticho dio Biber*, Anon., CMM VIII I:140; facsimile in *The Rossi Codex 215*, ed. Pirrotta 1992, 144-145.

aspects of Machaut's musical language, such as the use of augmented and diminished intervals.

Marie Louise Martinez, in her study *Die Musik des frühen Trecento*, argued against any link between these two repertoires, opposing Trecento madrigals to Machaut's chansons on the grounds of texting and the number of voices;³⁹ madrigals were generally for two voices, while Martinez describes the French ballade as a three-part genre. However, this ignores precisely the works that might have been influenced by the Trecento: Machaut's earliest, two-part ballades (B1-16). Their experimental nature, melodically and tonally, separates them from his later polyphonic songs, while the isorhythmic structure of Ballade 1 hints at Machaut's search for a model for this essentially new genre: very few polyphonic settings of lyric poetry survive to predate Machaut's, and these are in a style much more of the thirteenth century. Earp noted this dearth of models in his dissertation:

"From the 1320s, there is an oft-quoted statement of Jacob de Liège, that his contemporaries practise little else but motets and *cantilena*. But the only works of secular polyphony clearly traceable from the period between [*Fauvel*] and the Machaut manuscripts are ... *chaces*."⁴⁰

Earp also pointed out that, despite the tradition of attributing the rise in secular song to Philippe de Vitry, there is a lack of evidence to support this:

"Since the latest and most modern motets included in [*Fauvel*] are probably [Vitry's] it is likely that if Vitry had also composed polyphonic chansons at this time, some would have been included in the *Roman*."⁴¹

This increases the possibility that it was Machaut rather than Vitry who shaped the new *formes fixes*; and the prevalent genres at the beginning of the fourteenth century were sacred music – principally the motet – and the emerging settings of lyric poetry, such as those of Trecento Italy. In fact, Machaut's early ballades could almost be seen as a combination of *ars nova* motet and Trecento song, often being characterised by slow-moving, motet-like tenors; voices also cross frequently, again reminiscent of the motet

³⁹ Martinez, 1963

⁴⁰ Earp 1983, 163-4

⁴¹ Ibid., 165

style; but these ballades have the unsettled tonality and angular lines typical of the Trecento, a repertory Machaut may well have encountered during his employment by John of Luxembourg: the *Lay de Confort*, for instance, describes a campaign in Lombardy from 1330-31, and other journeys to Italy followed.⁴²

⁴² Earp 1995, 14

PART II

MANUSCRIPT ACCIDENTALS

Introduction

The preceding chapters have demonstrated the central importance of inflections to *contrapunctus*, and their functions in the context of Machaut's musical language. This is essential for the interpretation of accidentals and their variants in the Machaut manuscripts; while variants in other fourteenth-century sources tended to be on such a broad scale that accidentals could have little significance, Machaut's unusual control over the copying of his works was such that even apparently minor variants gain in importance. It was usual for the presence and position of accidentals, rhythmic notation, even the inclusion of points of perfection or alteration, to have been varied or amended by scribes, as Stanley Boorman has noted:

"The term 'scribal habit' covers several things: there is the range of practices of spelling, notation or underlay, for example, that are peculiar to the individual; there is the range proper to his locality and time – what one might call dialect; and there is the range of required changes peculiar to his place of employment. All these are bound up, almost inextricably, with one another and are further confused by the occasional errors and lapses from consistency that are the failings of all scribes."¹

However, the circumscribed nature of the Machaut manuscripts meant that variants might also, in these sources, represent the composer's drafts or revisions. Earp has explained that:

"Machaut's are not 'living' texts, whose contents would have been of concern to scribes and educated amateurs, and the wide latitude of variants characteristic of, for example, the fifteenth-century chansonniers, is not met with in Machaut. The Machaut manuscripts present 'formal' texts, copied by professional scribes who were less prone to edit texts according to their sense. Quite possibly the manuscripts even preserve many of the author's 'accidentals' – for instance, the ligatures are consistent throughout the main manuscripts."²

¹ Boorman 1981, 325

² Earp 1983, 342

Because the manuscripts were copied under such tightly controlled circumstances, it might, from a close study of their accidentals, be possible to discern slight regional differences or notational practices – in some cases amounting to an ‘editorial policy’ specific to an editor, scribe, or even to the composer – or to suggest sources for particular works. Thus variants in the Machaut manuscripts, particularly those suggesting general trends, could illustrate some of the acceptable variants in the notation of accidentals, even where the sources under comparison were copied at around the same time; where they were prepared under the supervision or instruction of a composer who was uniquely involved in the manuscript presentation of his work; and where, in Machaut’s complex polyphony, inflections were one of the most important constituents of the composer’s musical language, constructed as it was in terms of a hierarchical system of directed progressions.

The transmission of a manuscript accidental could be affected by its function: some accidentals were more likely than others to be copied accurately, since the less conventional the line, the less likely it was that the inflection would be left to chance (or to the questionable skill of the performer). Accidentals that could be considered both unconventional and authorial might, to a scribe accustomed principally to standard progressions, appear to be errors, and be omitted.

Where alternative musical readings exist, they might also reveal variants closer to Machaut’s drafts: since the composer was involved to an unusual degree in the copying of his work, in certain circumstances the scribe may have taken the music directly from the composer’s draft, rather than from an already prepared exemplar. It was not uncommon for Machaut to revise or even re-use existing material: the originally monophonic virelai *Mors sui* (V29) acquired a tenor between the copying of manuscripts C and Vg; while, in the *Voir Dit*, the composer explained that a three-part song was created from an existing cantus.³ Moreover, certain chansons, such as *Se quanque amours* (B21), *Doulz viaire gracieus* (R1) or *Donnez seigneurs* (B26) exist in more than one scoring; revisions and

³ Leech-Wilkinson has suggested that the piece was R18, *Puis qu’en oubli* (Leech-Wilkinson 1993, 48-49).

additions were also made to Machaut's texts, as is evident from variants in the *Loange des Dames*.

However, revisions and additions to his music were made not only by Machaut himself, but by others, almost all anonymous. While it is possible, and even in certain cases likely, that a few of the additional voices found in **E** were Machaut's own, a number of such parts exist in repertory manuscripts copied well after Machaut's death, and in places with which he had no connection, which cannot have been the composer's. These, together with other variants in such anthologies, can give an idea of the reception of Machaut's music in the decades after his death.

4: Machaut's Manuscript C

4.1 The Manuscript and its History

C is generally agreed to be the earliest surviving collection of Guillaume de Machaut's music and poetry; it is in this volume that Machaut began to arrange his chansons into the order that formed the basis for later manuscripts. C contains fewer works than the later Machaut sources; the inclusion of additional material in Vg, B, A and G suggests that these were composed later, a supposition borne out both by studies of Machaut's changing musical language and by external historical evidence.

Though the manuscript is copied on parchment, C's flyleaves are of paper, suggesting that they had been replaced, perhaps on the rebinding of the manuscript or after becoming worn. This may have contributed to the confusion surrounding the manuscript's date: C was, until a study by François Avril, thought to be a fifteenth-century copy of a lost earlier source.¹ The earliest editors of Machaut's narrative and lyric poetry, Chichmaref and Hoepffner, took this view, relying on the date bestowed upon the manuscript by nineteenth-century scholars in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale;² Avril, however, identified in C's illuminations the work of three artists, which allowed him to pinpoint the date of its copying to within a few years. Of these three, he identified the best, responsible for only the miniatures in the *Remede de Fortune*, as one who contributed to the *Bible moralisée* of Jean le Bon (illuminated between 1349 and 1353) and to the Missal of St Denis, copied c1350 – dates clearly contradicting those assumed by Hoepffner and Chichmaref.³ Avril was led to the conclusion that C had been both copied and illuminated between 1350 and 1356,

¹ Avril 1982

² Hoepffner 1908-21; Chichmaref 1909

³ Avril also pointed out that costumes depicted, as well as the use of *grisaille*, placed the manuscript firmly in the mid-fourteenth century (Avril 1982, 119).

“perhaps nearer the second date”, and had most probably – given the high standard of the painting – belonged to a patron of considerable means and social standing.⁴

Ursula Günther’s study, *Der musikalische Stilwandel der französischen Liedkunst in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*,⁵ was the first to compare the number and order of **C**’s chansons to the later Machaut manuscripts; a subsequent paper, “Chronologie und Stil der Kompositionen Guillaume de Machauts”,⁶ described the manuscript as being effectively divided into two sections. The first, resembling the later Machaut manuscripts, presented the *dits*, lyric poetry, *lais*, and the majority of the ballades and *virelais*, in similar order to these subsequent sources: although the *dits* were differently arranged, perhaps in connection with the manuscript’s intended owner, there was very little variation in the order of ballades 1-16, or *virelais* 1-15 and 17-24.⁷ This section Günther designated **CI**. Like many manuscripts of the fourteenth century, **CI** was copied with two columns of music per page (though this format was used for only one subsequent Machaut manuscript, **F-G**).

The five *dits* of **CI** were copied in separate fascicles without catchwords between poems; this enabled the scribe to change their order at any stage up to binding.⁸ **C** begins with the *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, where **Vg**, **B** and the text manuscript **M** open with the *Dit du Vergier* – which is the fourth work in **C**.⁹ The *Jugement* is followed in **C** by the *Remede de Fortune*, which may also have been linked to this court: it has been suggested that the latter was written for Bonne herself. The remaining *dits* are followed by the *Loange des Dames*, a collection of lyrics to which Machaut added new works in each subsequent manuscript. These were followed by the music section, consisting of *virelais*, ballades and *lais*: the *virelais* follow as the first

⁴ Avril: “De tout ce que nous venons de voir, il ressort que le manuscrit **C** a été copié et enluminé entre 1350 et 1356, peut-être plus près de cette seconde date, pour un personnage fortuné et très en vue, fréquentant le milieu de la cour de France.” (Ibid., 124)

⁵ Günther 1957

⁶ Günther 1963

⁷ *Virelai* 16 appears later in the manuscript, in section **CII**.

⁸ This was also the case for manuscript **E**.

⁹ Günther suggested that the prominent position of the *Jugement* was linked to the manuscript’s provenance: the *dit* honoured John, King of Bohemia and Luxembourg, so it is probable that the manuscript was compiled for a member of his family. Since John was killed at the Battle of Crécy in 1346, the position of the *Jugement* at the start of the manuscript may have been intended as a memorial to him by his daughter Bonne of Luxembourg.

group of *formes fixes*, in an unusual placing compared with Machaut's later manuscripts; rondeaux appeared only in **CII**. Again, this may have been at the behest of the manuscript's patron, since most of the Machaut manuscripts place ballades before the other *formes fixes*. The virelais may have been associated specifically with Bonne's court;¹⁰ the extremely limited distribution of this group of chansons, particularly in comparison to Machaut's other *formes fixes*, may have been the result of a very localised taste for the genre. While polyphonic examples, particularly of the so-called 'realistic' type which portrayed in music such sounds as bird-song and hunting-horns, are well represented in later anthologies, monophonic virelais – already uncommon outside the Machaut manuscripts – appear to have declined further in popularity after the first half of the century.¹¹

The remainder of the manuscript, termed by Günther **CII**, appears to have been copied without a planned exemplar: unlike **CI**, the pages had not been prepared beforehand with two columns, but had been ruled across the entire page, as new staves were needed. **CII** contained ballades 17-24, rondeaux 1-7 and 9-10, virelais 16, 25 and 28-30, and lais 1-14 and 22 (the *Lay de plour*), to which were appended motets 1-20;¹² the lais formed a link between **CI** and **CII**, following ballades 1-16, indicating that this was intended as an ordered collection of lais continuing onto the next gathering (XIX). **CI** was probably completed in the late 1340s; however, **CII** appears to have been

¹⁰ Earp 1995, 25. Machaut himself emphasised the role of virelai as dance-song, preferring the term *chanson baladée*, or 'danced song'. This is not the only aspect of **C** to suggest that its patron was fond of virelais: the prominence of the genre as a dance-song is illustrated in one of the *Remede*'s paintings, depicting a castle which may represent Bonne's court: "Besides the narrative poems composed for Bonne, a great number of lyrics – with or without music – were probably part of the glitter of her court ... It is particularly tempting to associate the large repertory of monophonic virelais with Bonne's court. ... In a scene well described in the *Remede* (ll. 3359-3516), the monophonic virelai *Dame a vous* serves as the accompaniment to a round dance outside the chateau. If we agree with Wimsatt and Kibler that the court of Bonne is the locus of the poem, we have a possible venue for the large group of similar monophonic virelais contained in MS **C**." (Earp 1995, 25; Wimsatt and Kibler, 1988, 33-36, 53). The lack of circulation of the virelais, and their total absence from surviving repertory sources, may be linked to Bonne's patronage. Machaut's few subsequent virelais were polyphonic, and Earp has suggested that, even in the 1340s, the composer may have been attempting to preserve the increasingly obsolete form of the monophonic dance-song, which was becoming eclipsed by the rondeau.

¹¹ It should also be borne in mind, however, that instrumental dances were very seldom notated, and there is very little likelihood that dance songs fared any better: both sung and played dances have been described by Earp as a "lost tradition" (Earp 1991, 139). Certainly, the few surviving monophonic virelais by other composers exist as the tenors to polyphonic virelais, in sources such as the Cambrai fragments or the Reina Codex; examples are *Donne moy/ Alons commenchie/ J'oy les clez* and *Venes a nueches/ Vecche l'ermite*, both in F-CA 1328 (Hasselman 1970, 114-115).

¹² The exception is Motet 4, which was omitted – see 110n23, below.

compiled later. Having suggested that the manuscript's patron was originally Bonne of Luxembourg, the daughter of John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, Günther proposed that the state of **CII** may have been a consequence of Bonne's death in 1349: while part of the planned manuscript had been fully prepared for copying – perhaps in the form of an exemplar, or a series of fascicles – Machaut had not yet decided on a final order for the more recently composed works. It is further possible that the uncertain future of the manuscript after the death of its patron led to its rapid completion – maintaining the concern for presentation that characterised **CI**, but without such close, perhaps authorial, supervision.¹³

4.2 Variants in **CI** – Accidentals

4.2.1 Accidentals in the ballades

While **C**'s notation of accidentals is broadly typical of the Machaut manuscripts, there are significant differences in its details: taken with other variants in **C**'s music, these support conjecture that some readings in this manuscript may be closer than any surviving source to the composer's drafts. (Since **C** is accepted as the earliest extant Machaut manuscript, it may seem perverse to refer to differences between this and later sources as 'variants in **C**'; however, given the revisions subsequently undertaken to works in **CII**, and the fact that editions of the music have not generally been based on this manuscript, it seems practical to follow the prevailing usage.)

The notation of accidentals in the first part of **C** contains none of the idiosyncrasies apparent in some later manuscripts (principally **G** and **E**). The signs *b-molle* and *b-durum* are, generally, precisely placed on the line or space of the pitch affected; this demonstrates rather more precision than is generally evident among fourteenth-century repertory sources, and lends support to an interpretation of

¹³ It is probable that the entire manuscript was eventually paid for by Bonne's widower John II: a note in his treasury inventory of 1349 mentions payment for illuminating a *livre de motets*, which may have been **CI** (Earp 1983, 134n).

manuscript accidentals as being (in the view of the contemporary performer) primarily a means of raising or lowering a specified pitch by a semitone. This might argue against a focus, found among some modern writers, on accidentals as indicators of hexachords: while the thinking behind inflections is firmly based in solmization theory, the hexachords implied by those accidentals would not, one suspects, be at the forefront of the performer's mind.

The pre-placing of accidentals appears more prevalent in **C** (and, subsequently, in **A** and **G**) than in **Vg**, **B** or **E**. The term 'pre-placing' is here meant to indicate the notation of an accidental some notes before the pitch it inflects; this excludes signatures placed at the start of staves. While any judgement on the prevalence of pre-placing is necessarily approximate – since it could so easily be varied at the convenience of the scribe – there is some perceptible variation from one manuscript to another. The practice may have been characteristic of particular scribes (or present in the composer's drafts); it may, in some cases, have been intended as a 'signpost' for singers, an early warning of inflections ahead. While it might also be seen in terms of solmization – announcing a change of hexachord – the precise notation of the *b-molle* and *b-durum* signs in most Machaut manuscripts is such that they can be read as sharps and flats in the modern sense.

The accidentals in B1-16 – excluding signatures, which are discussed below – do not appear to have been greatly varied in subsequent Machaut manuscripts; this may reflect the degree of preparation that evidently went into the compilation of **CI**. However, even in these early ballades, variants are to be found between **C** and the later Machaut sources – particularly inflections more characteristic of Machaut, such as those indicating expanded or unconventional progressions. An early example of the sometimes extreme chromaticism in the music's contrapuntal framework is found in the D-sharp-B sonority in *Riches d'amour* (B5) [Ex. 4.1]; this is the single notated #-d in Machaut's secular chansons, and appears only in **C**, **A** and **G**:

Ex. 4.1 *Riches d'amour* (B5), b.4-8, **C** and reduction

It is possible that, during the preparation of **Vg**'s exemplar, this was omitted by the editor or scribe, who regarded it as an error, since it is such a rarely used inflection (and creates a potential augmented second).¹⁴ The omission of this accidental from **Vg**, **B** and **E** suggests not only the close relationships within these two groups of manuscripts, and the division between them, but suggests that an editor or scribe removed this inflection, perhaps because of its apparently experimental nature.

Virelais 1-15 and 17-24, like the early ballades, show few variants in manuscript **C** – perhaps, in this case, because their circulation was limited; it is also possible, though, that these relatively simple songs were more commonly transmitted by memory than by notation. (Signatures, in which variants *are* found here, are examined below.) V16 is in the second part of the manuscript, **CII**, and its variants suggest that it may have been completed later than the virelais in **CI**.

4.2.2 Accidentals in the *Remede de fortune*

The transmission of the music of the *Remede de Fortune* contrasts with that of the virelais and ballades in this manuscript. Avril suggested that the care taken in the overall presentation and illumination of the *dit* indicated Machaut's overriding concern with this work: however, manuscript accidentals are by turns omitted and added, in comparison with later sources, to the works in the *Remede*. Alison Bullock has noted that there is no simple transmission pattern for this work; while text sources can generally be divided into 'early' and 'late' traditions (as Wimsatt and Kibler described), the musical insertions do not tend to follow such a straightforward split.¹⁵ *En amer*, the four-part *baladelle*, notates more cautionary sharps than other sources – as **Ex. 4.2** illustrates – and also contains cautionary flats not found elsewhere; **C** adds a \flat -e to b.19 of the cantus, and a \sharp -f to the contratenor in the same bar, as well as those accidentals shown below:

¹⁴ Leach has argued that further D-sharps may be implied in Machaut's early ballades (paper given at the conference "Guillaume de Machaut: Music, Text and Image", All Souls College, Oxford, 28th-30th June 2001); nevertheless, these are not notated and remain subject to interpretation.

¹⁵ Bullock 1998, 154; Wimsatt and Kibler 1988, 37-39. Manuscripts belonging to the 'early' tradition were **C**, **E** and **Pe**; 'late' readings included **VgB**, **A**, **F**, **M** and **Pm**.

Ex. 4.2 *En amer*, b.19-25, **C** and **Vg**

The same is true of *Dame de qui* [Ex. 4.3]: while it appears in **C** scored for cantus and tenor only (later readings adding contratenor and triplum), accidentals appear here which are not included in later sources, and which are not duplicated by the subsequent contratenor or triplum:

Ex. 4.3 *Dame de qui*, b.31-36, **C** and **Vg**

This might seem surprising given the relative lack of variants in other music in **CI**. However, barring drastic scribal interference, uncharacteristic of this manuscript as a whole, it seems probable that these accidentals were notated in the exemplars for the *Remede*'s songs. In the case of a *dit* with musical inserts, the music would not necessarily have originated in the same exemplar as the text, but may have had a separate source, such as a single fascicle or sheet. (This is supported by the inclusion of the *Voir Dit* music in **Vg** without the *dit* itself; it would also be the most practical method of composition, and, given the normal division of labour between text and music scribes, of copying.) It might be suggested that the addition of these accidentals was to guide the performers in this complex polyphony. In *Dame mon cuer*, however, certain cautionary accidentals are not notated, although they appear in most later sources:

Ex. 4.4 *Dame mon cuer*, b.24-31, **C** and **Vg**

While their absence does not affect the contrapuntal structure of the work, their notation would have been helpful to performers (particularly if sight-singing). Overall, then, no consistent 'editorial policy' is apparent in these songs. One possibility is that the *Remede* chansons were composed very shortly before the compilation of **CI** (c1349); if that were so, 'proper' exemplars for these works may not yet have been available, and

C's readings could have been copied from Machaut's drafts, some of which may have been more closely edited than others.¹⁶

4.3 Vocal Scoring in CI

While the main objective of this study is to investigate accidentals in the Machaut manuscripts, a brief examination of other variants can provide a context for their interpretation; this is particularly true of C, the variants of which encompass not only texting, rhythmic notation and accidentals – normal among the Machaut manuscripts, as in other fourteenth-century sources – but empty staves for apparently unwritten voices. In sources as closely controlled as these, changes of scoring can indicate stages in the process of composition: since Machaut, in providing more than one reading, frequently appears to have been reworking a piece, variant readings may have been copied from the composer's drafts or work in progress. Writers from Ludwig onwards have noted the presence of empty staves for unwritten or incomplete voices, the first study devoted to such variants being Sarah Jane Williams's article, "Vocal Scoring in the Chansons of Guillaume de Machaut";¹⁷ she noted that the largest number of these 'phantom voices' is found in C. However, although the less ordered nature of CII might have led one to expect to find them in the latter part of the manuscript, these staves occurred predominantly in CI.

Machaut's earliest polyphonic songs were two-part ballades, in which the cantus took priority and may have been composed before the tenor. Among these early works, however, are staves intended for planned triplum voices: ballades 3, 5, 7, 11 and 12 all preserve empty staves for a triplum, while B10 instead provides contratenor staves. These suggest that the composer may have planned further work on the songs which never took place, or had experimented in search of satisfactory scorings. The staves for

¹⁶ While the polyphonic works of the *Remede* later became widely transmitted in repertory sources, such manuscripts date from the end of the fourteenth century; at this stage, c1350, it seems less likely that these variants in accidentals would be the traces of multiple performing copies.

¹⁷ Williams 1968

these early ballades are preserved in **Vg** and **B** – and, in the case of B7 and B11, in **A** – adding to the evidence that the material used in the preparation of **C** later formed part of that used for subsequent manuscripts, and remained largely unaltered.

4.4 Variants in **CII**

4.4.1 The Order of **CII**

Compared with other Machaut sources, the order of works in **C** is the manuscript's most obvious variant. It is not entirely clear whether the secular works in **CII** were even originally intended as part of the manuscript: Machaut does not appear to have intended to add further ballades immediately following B16, since no provision was made for necessary space; this is also true of the virelais. The rondeaux, had they been compiled or even completed by 1349, might have been allocated their own section. Although its presentation is as meticulous as that of **CI**, **CII**'s order is more like that of a hastily assembled draft. While the order of **CI** appears to have been influenced by Machaut's patron, that of **CII** seems at times random; only the *lais* – originally intended to constitute an ordered section following the ballades – and the motets are grouped by genre. Inserted into the planned *lai* section, however, presumably to utilise an empty space, is *Amours me fait desirer* (B19) on f.186v. *Foy porter* (V25) and *Tuit mi penser* (V28) follow the *lais* on the opening 197v-198r.

Fig. 4.1: The order of **CII (on following page)**

Following these virelais is a group of five ballades – 17, 18, 20, 23 and 21. Excluding B19, which could have been inserted into the space on f.186v at any time after the copying of the *lais*, the first ballade is the canonic *Sans cuer/ Amis dolens/ Dame par vous* (B17): in subsequent manuscripts, it is positioned after the two part ballades 1-16, where it is the first of a group of three-part chansons.

Fig. 4.1 *The order of CII from the lais to the motets*

Folio	Work	Scoring
.....GATHERING XXI.....		
165r-170v	Lais 1-3	
.....GATHERING XXII.....		
171r-178v	Lais 3-6	
.....GATHERING XXIII.....		
179r-186r	Lais 7, 10, 12	
186v	B19	Ca T Tr
.....GATHERING XXIV.....		
187r-194v	L22, 14, 11, 13, 8	
.....GATHERING XXV.....		
195r-196r	L9	
197v-198r	V25	[Ca]
	V28	[Ca]
198v	B17	[Canon: three 'cantus' voices]
199r	B18	Ca T Tr
199v	B20	Ca T
200r-200v	B23	Ca T Tr
200v	B21	Ca T Tr Ct
201v	R2	Ca T
201v	B24	Ca T
202r	R7	Ca T
202r	R5	Ca T
202v	R9	Ca T Tr Ct
..... GATHERING XXVI.....		
203r	R9	(continued)
203r	R1	Ca T Tr
203r	R6	Ca T
203v	V16	[Ca]
204r	B22	Ca and empty staves
204v	R3	Ca T
204v	R4	Ca T
205r-v	V30	[Ca]
205v	V29	[Ca]
205v	R10	Ca T Ct and spurious Ct II
206v-224v	M1-20, omitting M4	

The use of canon was established both in the Italian *caccia*, a genre dating from the early fourteenth century, and in the French *chace*, found in sources such as **Iv. Trém** or the fragmentary manuscript **Pic**;¹⁸ this work could be regarded as an experimental means of increasing the number of voices from two to three, though it is an isolated example of strict imitation among Machaut's *formes fixes*. Another model of three-part

¹⁸ **Pic** (F-Bn Pic 67, f.67), dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, contains, as well as a number of motets, one of the most widely-transmitted French *chaces*, *Se je chant*; see Hasselman 1970, 137.

writing available to Machaut was the motet: together with the very early chansons by composers such as Jehan de Lescurel, which were preserved in the *Roman de Fauvel*, this must have exerted some influence over Machaut's choice of scoring in his earliest three-part ballades for cantus, tenor and triplum.

The work that follows B17 here, *De petit peu* (B18), uses this scoring: it is in turn followed by the two-part *Je suis aussi* (B20), and the three-part *De fortune* (B23). Next is *Se quanque amours* (B21), the first work in this manuscript to incorporate a contratenor, and also Machaut's earliest four-part ballade; accidentals in this work are discussed later in this chapter.¹⁹

These ballades are succeeded by the first rondeau in the Machaut manuscripts, *Helas! pour quoy* (R2). *Doulz viaire gracieus* (R1) was chosen to head the rondeau section in subsequent manuscripts: unlike the three-part R1, though, rondeaux 2 to 7 are for two voices,²⁰ and it is likely that R2 was composed before R1; as in the case of the ballades, it appears that the earliest rondeaux were for two voices. The manuscript continues with a number of rondeaux (including the earlier reading of R6 mentioned above), and the ballade *Tres douce dame* (B24); these spill over into the next gathering, XXVI, which opens with R1, R6 and *C'est force* (V16).

The intended three-part contratenor scoring of *Il m'est avis* (B22), which follows, clearly cannot have been available at the time of copying, and in fact never materialised: in later manuscripts, B22 always appears scored for four voices. This collection of chansons is concluded with *Merci vous pri* (R3) and *Sans cuer, dolens* (R4) – both subject to later revisions – *Liement me deport* (V30), and *Rose, lis* (R10), another work to which a triplum was later added. As Earp has pointed out, R10 is copied across the change of gathering, indicating that it was probably available only at the last stage in the manuscript's compilation;²¹ Alison Bullock has noted that the order of CII may reflect the order of composition; she also noted that the layout of R10 might

¹⁹ See Ex. 4.9, 112 below

²⁰ E later supplied a contratenor for R7; see 187, below.

²¹ Earp 1983, 140-1

suggest that the cantus of that work was composed first, the abbreviation *[c]ont[ra]tenor* may suggest that this was the composer's working copy.²²

The appearance of the motet section in **C**, the order of the motets (which remains unchanged in subsequent Machaut manuscripts) and the general lack of variants compared to those later readings, suggests that the exemplar was copied at the same time as **CI**, before 1349, and was intended as the last section of the manuscript.²³

4.4.2 Accidentals in **CII**

Given the disrupted order of **CII**, it is to be expected that it would contain a large number of variants. These variants suggest that a 'final edit' had not been completed: for example, the only two imprecisely copied accidentals found in manuscript **C** occur in **CII** [Ex. 4.5], though such accidentals are considerably more common in all the later Machaut sources:

- Ex. 4.5** (a) *Amours me fait desirer* (B19), tenor, b.17-18, **Vg**, **C**, **A** and **G**
 (b) *Se vous n'estes* (R7), tenor, b.11-14, **Vg** and **C**

Inconsistent notation of accidentals can, likewise, be seen in *Sans cuer/ Amis dolens/ Dame, par vous* (B17), a canon at the unison in which three separate texts are given for a vocal line written out three times. Although these voices are clearly meant to be identical, each is notated with slight variants: the accidentals in *Amis dolens* were evidently copied (or previously transmitted) with variants:

²² Bullock 1998, 79. She has also suggested that the cantus and tenor of B23 were written first, with the triplum being added subsequently (which could account for its 'hocketing' nature), and that **E**'s four-part reading might have been based on an earlier, incomplete draft (ibid.).

²³ The odd omission of M4 from **C** has been described by Earp as "having arisen from the 'grafting' together of two originally separate gatherings": the first gathering of the original motet section was recopied, to enable the scribe to attach the second gathering (already copied from M6 onwards) to **CII**. R10 was evidently added afterwards, as it runs from 205v, where a blank stave was left for its triplum following V29, onto the first recto page of the motet gathering, 206r; and M4 was, in the course of this recopying, inadvertently omitted (ibid., 140-42).

Ex. 4.6 *Amis dolens* (B17), b.15-19; accidentals in **Vg** and **C**

The next surviving source, **Vg**, omits the ♭; and while it is likely that both readings were performed with the same inflections,²⁴ it suggests that **Vg**'s reading, rather than merely omitting certain of **C**'s accidentals, may have been edited to remove **C**'s inconsistencies. (**Vg** also provides for B17 four #-fs not notated in **C**.)

Elsewhere in **CII**, cautionary accidentals were omitted or added without affecting the work's contrapuntal structure, reinforcing the picture of **CII** as a less thoroughly edited source. For example, **CII** does not include the cautionary # in *Foy porter* (V25) found in all later sources:

Ex. 4.7 *Foy porter* (V25), b.3-6, **Vg** and **C**

A similar example can be found in V28, in b.1-2. In fact, the variants in **CII**'s accidentals reflect the variable 'editorial policy' of the *Remede*, in that some works notate more cautionary accidentals than are shown in other sources, other works notate fewer.²⁵

As in **C**'s reading of the *Remede*, different scorings can affect the notation of accidentals. *Mors sui* (V29) appears in **CII** as a monophonic virelai: the addition of a tenor at a later date, though before the copying of **Vg**, adds to the impression that monophonic virelais were waning in popularity. **C**'s accidentals leave a slight ambiguity, since the #-c which later sources add to the opening bar is omitted [**Ex. 4.8**]; no #-c is notated anywhere in **C**'s reading, though the emphasis on the tonal centre D implies that inflection:²⁶

Ex. 4.8 *Mors sui* (V29), b.1-5, **C** and **Vg**

²⁴ An augmented second (b-flat to c-sharp) would not be an impossibility here, since the other voices sustain a G-d.

²⁵ In V30, for example, **C** adds #-fs to the *clos* bar, b.14, and to the written-out repeat of this section, though no later source notates any #-fs at all.

²⁶ Accidentals in the tenor of this work are examined in the following chapter, 136-7.

4.4.3 Vocal Scoring in CII

As *Mors sui* illustrates, the notation of accidentals may be affected by vocal scoring. The scoring variants in CII do not consist simply of empty triplum staves: while both R7 and R10 do leave staves for a triplum, R10 was already scored for cantus-tenor-contratenor – and was later provided with a spurious second contratenor in a different, untidy hand. *Il m'est avis* (B22) exists in C only as a cantus with blank tenor and contratenor staves: however, later sources uniformly present the work for four voices.²⁷ This indicates that Machaut had, between the copying of C and Vg, revised his conception of this work, having found the proposed three-part version unsatisfactory for some reason.

A similar situation can be found in *Se quanque amours* (B21). This appears for four voices in all sources except A, which omits the contratenor. Although a correct reading in four parts exists in C, the earliest source, Vg contains an apparent error in b.10 of the triplum, giving an e' instead of a d':²⁸

Ex. 4.9 *Se quanque amours* (B21), b.8-10, Vg and C

In any case, although Vg's e' clashes with the d' of the contratenor, a three-part reading of either triplum-cantus-tenor or cantus-tenor-contratenor would be unproblematic; it is possible that the work also existed in these alternative readings, combined later in Vg for the sake of completeness.²⁹ Bullock has speculated that these dissonances may indicate that Machaut encountered difficulties in his earliest compositions for four voices; however, the variant may equally have arisen through the misreading of a corrected draft.

Dame de qui is given in C for cantus and tenor only, though the other Machaut manuscripts give this piece in four parts. It may be that Machaut experienced compositional difficulties, perhaps with the role of the contratenor; while its use as half of the tenor-contratenor pair – as in motet composition – was well established, it was

²⁷ The Reina Codex gives an alternative contratenor (226, below).

²⁸ Ludwig noted that d' appeared erased in Vg ('e, darunter d' ausradiert', Ludwig 1926, 23).

²⁹ See 139-140, below

generally not treated as an autonomous voice at this stage.³⁰ Finally, **C**'s monophonic *Mors sui* (V29) appears with a tenor in later manuscripts, suggesting an attempt to update the work, or to give it a wider audience – clearly giving two possible readings for this virelai.

Following the abandoned triplum lines planned for **CI**, the first completed ballades for three voices in **CII** were B18, 19 and 23. As B21 illustrates, Machaut's earliest works including a part for contratenor were written for four voices, including a triplum – a combination probably familiar to the composer through the study and writing of four-part motets.³¹ Machaut's four-voice chansons are, in **CII**, ballades 21 and 22, *Tant doucement* (R9) and, in **CI**, *En amer*; the first works composed specifically for the cantus-tenor-contratenor scoring were probably not written until after **C**'s compilation, since they appear first in **Vg**.

4.4.4 Further Variants in **CII**

These examples are not the only suggestions that **CII** represents the music at an 'earlier', more preparatory stage than is normally seen in the Machaut manuscripts. A significant proportion of works in **CII** underwent major revisions at some point between their copying into **C** and the compilation of **Vg**. *Cinc, un, treze, wit* (R6), for example, opens in **Vg**, **B**, **E**, **A** and **G** with an octave, D-d; in **C**, though, its opening sonority is the fifth G-d:

Ex. 4.10 *Cinc, un, treze, wit* (R6), b.1-2

This mirrors a development seen in Machaut's ballades: earlier works frequently open and close on a fifth, but over time new works become more likely to begin and end with an octave. (This would also allow space in which to add a contratenor.) *C'est force, faire le weil* (V16) likewise exists in two versions [Ex. 4.11]. In **Vg**, **B** and later

³⁰ B22 also appears in **PR**, scored for four voices with a new contratenor.

³¹ Up to the date of **C**'s copying, Machaut's only four-part motet was *Aucune gent/ Qui plus aime/ Contratenor/ Fiat voluntas* (M5).

manuscripts, both the ‘refrain’ and ‘verse’ sections have the tonal centre of D, with E as the secondary centre; however, in **C**’s reading, the *clos* ending for the verse gives the pitch F:

Ex. 4.11 *C’est force, faire le weil* (V16), b.21-23, **C** and **Vg**

This revision, like that made to R6, was apparently intended to give a more tonally integrated reading. In later sources, *C’est force* was inserted into the virelai section between *Se mesdisans en acort* (V15) and *Dame, vostre doulz viaire* (V17): while the work may simply have been composed later than the other virelais in **CI** (1-15 and 17-24), or its exemplar temporarily mislaid, its isolated appearance in **CII** raises the possibility that Machaut had not yet settled on a final version by the time that **CI** was compiled.

In addition to these early versions, **CII** contains a number of scribal errors. Not only is their concentration in **CII** significantly higher than in **CI**, but these errors are on a broader scale – something that may not be unusual in later sources, but is unknown in **CI**. An example is *Sans cuer dolens* (R4) [Ex. 4.12]: rather than the common mistake of copying notes a third too high or low – as a result of the scribe’s missing a clef change where the exemplar began a new stave – the pitch is here displaced by a second; this is clearly a mistake rather than an alternative reading, as the discords between cantus and tenor attest, and may well have been a misreading of an unclear draft:

Ex. 4.12 *Sans cuer dolens* (R4), b.18-21
Cantus in **Vg** and **C**

A misread draft may supply the explanation for an error in b.17 of the tenor of *Tres douce dame* (B24) [Ex. 4.13(a)]. Where **Vg** includes the b in its ligature, **C**’s ligature is struck through, a dotted breve b has been added, and the following c and d are notated as a ligature; a diplomatic transcription is given in Ex. 4.13(b):

- Ex. 4.13** (a) *Tres douce dame* (B24), b.15-18
 (b) B24: diplomatic transcription of **C** and **Vg**
 tenor passage

While **Vg**'s reading avoids a passing dissonance, it is not of an order to suggest that **C**'s reading is incorrect. These variants in R4 and B24 suggest that **CII**'s exemplars were not the meticulously prepared copies that characterised **CI** (and established the order of Machaut's subsequent manuscripts), but drafts at an earlier stage in their preparations, which might later undergo revision or correction.

In a number of instances, correct readings in **C** subsequently became altered or corrupted: an example is a lengthy passage in *Helas! pour quoy* (R2), which **Vg**'s scribe copied a third too high – an understandably common mistake. **C**'s correct version was transmitted to **A** and **G**; however, **Vg**'s reading, which creates discords with the tenor (as **Ex. 4.14** shows), was passed on to **B** and **E**:

- Ex. 4.14** *Helas! pour quoy* (R2), b.11-18, **C** and **Vg**

4.5 Signatures

4.5.1 Signatures in fourteenth-century manuscripts

The use of signatures in manuscript **C**, particularly in the *virelais*, is unique among the Machaut sources. The fundamental difference between a signature and an accidental is in the range over which the signature is effective, for fourteenth-century manuscripts as well as more recent notation: however, the division between the two is not always clear-cut in the sources under examination here. A signature, notated at the start of a stave and immediately after the clef, would not necessarily be effective for the length of the stave: although an examination of such accidentals in context suggests that this was usually the case, the signature might be cancelled by other notated accidentals or by a mutation to another hexachord; equally, an accidental could inflect a single note, or several at that pitch. The confusion is compounded by the fact that a notated accidental might also prompt a performer to make further inflections of the same pitch:

thus, its *effective* range could be considerably longer than that of an accidental in modern notation, yet less than that of a signature. This creates a sometimes artificial divide: in the eyes of a fourteenth-century musician or scribe, the difference between a signature and an accidental might not always be significant – and, in music copied in columns on short staves, as C was, it might be irrelevant.

In the case of compositions incorporating plainchant – the tenor of a motet, for instance – a signature would not necessarily be repeated from one stave to the next, but would appear nevertheless to have been effective throughout that voice, since the contrapuntal context implied inflections on relevant pitches, on subsequent staves. Equally, a signature might be used sporadically within a single voice – for example, only on those staves where its notation would save a scribe the trouble of writing several accidentals. Of fourteenth-century sources, the most substantial extant manuscripts predating C are F-Pn146, which contains the *Roman de Fauvel* and chansons by Jehan de Lescurel, and the Brussels Rotulus.³² The notation of signatures in *Fauvel*, while as variable as in any source mentioned, gives tenor signatures in chant-based motets where appropriate – for instance, in *Firmissime/ Adesto/ Alleluia* (f.43r-v).

A scribe copying Machaut's chansons, the musical language of which was based on directed progressions, would be faced with adapting a system that appears to have evolved in the notation of modal music, to suit a style with increasingly flexible tonal structures: the necessity for cancellations created by the use of directed progressions made signatures less convenient in music built upon *contrapunctus*. While scribes evidently found signatures to be of some use in this repertoire, it was only towards the end of the century that the phenomenon was mentioned by any theorist, when the Berkeley treatise (c1375) described the use of flats – and, by implication, sharps – as signatures: "Likewise, whenever any of those signs for the *coniuncta* is placed at the beginning on whatever line or space, all syllables on that line or space ought to be sung according to the sign placed at the beginning; elsewhere this may be removed, even if it

³² The Brussels Rotulus, B-Br 19606, contains three motets attributed to Philippe de Vitry, together with five anonymous motets and a conductus: see Hoppin 1955. Fragments of other early-fourteenth century sources are discussed in Hasselman 1970.

should be done by a hexachord within a hexachord.”³³ It is perhaps not surprising, then, to find that signatures in later Machaut sources were generally marked where their notation could save the scribe the trouble of writing out a number of flats in the same stave;³⁴ where they would incur numerous cancellations, it was clearly to the scribe’s advantage not to notate them.

4.5.2 Signatures in manuscript C

Given this pragmatic approach, C’s relatively frequent notation of signatures is remarkable. Their incidence is highest among the virelais: **Ex. 4.15** shows signatures in C’s reading of *Aymi, dame de valour* (V3), compared with those in other Machaut sources. Downward arrows ↓ indicate each new stave; below, **Fig. 4.2**, shows, in comparison, the number of staves with and without signatures.

Ex. 4.15 *Aymi dame de valour* (V3), C compared with Vg/B, E, A, G

Fig. 4.2 **V3: signatures in each manuscript**

↓ = start of stave

↓_b = B-flat signature at start of stave

Stave no.:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		1	2	3
C:	↓	↓ _b	↓	↓ _b	↓ _b	↓ _b	↓ _b	↓ _b	VgB:	↓	↓ _b	↓ _b
A:	1	2	3	4					G:	1	2	3
	↓	↓	↓	↓ _b						↓	↓	↓ _b
E:	1	2	3							↓	↓ _b	↓ _b
	↓	↓ _b	↓ _b									

This virelai also provides an example [**Ex. 4.16**] of the blurring between signature and accidental in many fourteenth-century manuscripts: in bars 8-9 of A’s reading, a _b follows the first pitch (an a) and immediately precedes the b which is to be flattened; this gives it the appearance of an accidental. However, *all* Bs notated in this

³³ *Berkeley Manuscript*, ed. Ellsworth 1984, 52-53

³⁴ *B-durum* signs – that is, sharps – do not appear at all as signatures in the Machaut manuscripts, and very rarely elsewhere in music of this period.

stave require the same inflection: and the presence of the flat at the start of the stave would probably have been indication enough to a contemporary performer, no matter how modern scholars choose to classify it.

Ex. 4.16 V3, b.8-12, A

Many of C's virelais are apparently notated with B-flat signatures: a number of them are comparable to *Aymi, dame de valour* (V3), in that a greater proportion of staves have signatures in C than in other manuscripts. These include *Dou mal qui m'a longuement* (V8), *De bonte, de valour* (V10), *Se mesdisans en acort* (V15) and *Se d'amer me repentoie* (V20) – though in the last two instances, only around half of C's staves are notated with signatures. (In C, each virelai typically occupies around eight to ten staves, of which, for example, at least six of eight, or eight of ten, staves might notate a signature.) The short staves on which C's virelais are notated further blur the distinctions between accidentals and signatures, and the lack of a signature does not necessarily coincide with the lack of the note B in the stave in question; in fact, most of this group of virelais has at least one signature notated at the start of a stave which contains no pitch B. For instance, in *Aymi, dame de valour* (see Ex. 4.15), the seventh stave of C's reading (b.21) bears a signature even though there is no B on that stave. This may suggest that the scribe notated signatures on all staves before beginning to copy the notes (which may in turn imply that he understood the B-flat to apply throughout the work).

In attempting to explain the concentration of signatures in Machaut's virelais, the discussion of modes and their finals is unavoidable. The inflections (both written and implied) in these works often indicate a contrapuntal context – for example, by raising leading notes at cadential points;³⁵ however, the language of modes was pervasive, and perhaps more lasting in monophonic genres, and it would be unrealistic to expect no trace to remain.³⁶ It is in this light that one should view the preponderance

³⁵ This has been explored in articles such as Leech-Wilkinson 1991.

³⁶ While inflections were not unknown in chant, their far more frequent notation in Machaut's monophonic virelais strongly suggests that a different tonal system was in operation.

of certain tonal centres among the virelais cited above: the two most common tonal centres are F (for example, V8 or V15) – in which the flattening of Bs in a melodic context recalls the Lydian mode – and G (V3, V10), which, sung with B-flats, resembles the transposed Dorian. This is emphasised by a second group of virelais for which all manuscripts notate signatures in some form: *Douce dame jolie* (V4), *Comment qu'a moy lonteinne* (V5), *Se ma dame* (V6), *Puisque ma douleur* (V7), *Dame je weil* (V9) and *Je vivroie liement* (V23). Four of these have G as their tonal centre, while the other two are based around F. The only work in C's *Remede* with a consistently notated signature is the virelai, *Dame a vous sans retollir* – which has a tonal centre of F.³⁷

The notation of signatures might have been part of the editing process in preparing an exemplar from draft copies; equally, the exemplar for C's virelais could have been created by a scribe with an idiosyncratic approach to copying monophonic chansons – which might explain the restriction of this use of signatures to C. It is also possible that the signatures originated in early drafts from Machaut's workshop, exaggerated by the use of short staves.

The lack of consistent signatures in the polyphonic chansons is most probably a result of the directed progressions central to fourteenth-century polyphony, which could require numerous cancellations of any signature within a single stave. Few ballades in C are notated with the type of partial signature characteristic of the fifteenth century (with, for example, a single-flat signature in the cantus and two flats in the tenor),³⁸ though some – such as B11 or B16 – have consistent signatures in both voices. In a very few, including ballades 8 and 15, signatures are more consistent in the cantus than in the tenor. A similar situation is to be found among C's rondeaux, principally because most of them are not written around tonal centres which would require the repeated use of B-flats. However, the fact that the rondeaux are all found in CII might also have a bearing on the lack of notated signatures, since this part of the manuscript was evidently less carefully edited than CI.

The signatures in C's motets are notated in a similar fashion to those in motets

³⁷ Signatures for this virelai are also notated in E and, less uniformly, A.

³⁸ Exceptions are B13 and B14.

in earlier sources – that is, frequently in the tenor, but much less frequently in the other voices. Motets 3, 13, 18 and 20 all conform to this pattern, with signatures in **Vg**, **B** and **E** as well as **C**. In addition to these, *Qui es promesses/ Ha Fortune/ Et non est* (M8) notates signatures, albeit somewhat inconsistently, in all Machaut manuscripts, while *Aucune gent/ Qui plus aime/ Contratenor/ Fiat voluntas* (M5) gives a contratenor signature in **C**, **A** and **G**. However, in contrast to Machaut's chansons, and to the virelais in particular, this is not substantially altered in later manuscripts: the careful presentation suggests that the motets' notation had been a matter of considerable preparation, and these works appear to have become largely 'fixed' in their notation by the time they were copied, implying that they were relatively early (notwithstanding a small number of revisions in **Vg**); it is, indeed, widely accepted that those motets found in **C** had been completed in the early 1340s.

Motet tenors in manuscripts **Vg**, **B** and **E** generally occupy only one stave, ruled across the width of the page; the tenor, being a repeated phrase of chant in relatively long note-values, takes up little space, so there is no need to notate a signature on more than one stave. (Nor does any motet have a tonal centre that would necessitate a signature of two flats – that is, \flat -e as well as \flat -b.) **C**'s tenors, by virtue of their column layout, typically occupy three staves:³⁹ as in the virelais, where a motet does employ a signature, a \flat -b may be notated even when the pitch B does not occur in that stave. (This might be a result of scribal editing during the creation of the exemplar – and, as in the case of the virelais, might be attributed to a scribe at Bonne's court.)⁴⁰

It is evident that no consistent practice of notating signatures had emerged by the early fourteenth century – nor can any be detected in the principal Machaut manuscripts, **Vg**, **B**, **A** and **G**, copied subsequently. Signatures were used with greater frequency in the last quarter of the century: this trend can be seen in **E**, as well as in numerous repertory sources, and has been the basis for the studies of 'conflicting' or 'partial signatures' discussed in Chapter I. Unlike these, however, the signatures in **C** are

³⁹ This layout was used for motets until late in the century in repertory sources such as the Cambrai Fragments.

⁴⁰ **A** and **G** present a slightly different, less consistent, case: where the first of the tenor's staves has a notated signature, one of usually two others does as well; see 159, below.

notated predominantly in the monophonic songs; moreover, those in the polyphonic *formes fixes* do not exclusively follow the ‘conflicting’ model, but may sometimes be concentrated in the cantus rather than the lower voices.

4.6 CI and CII

The numerous variants found in **C** occur in many aspects of notation, from pitch and rhythm to vocal scoring; they might, therefore, prove a source of information about the copying of manuscripts – and, possibly, about Machaut’s process of composition.

CII’s profusion of variants – scribal errors as well as early versions of works subsequently revised – suggest that its source was not the prepared exemplar of the later manuscripts, or of **CI**; its secular works are characteristic of a manuscript copied from a collection of fascicles, in the case of the groups of ballades and rondeaux, or single copies.⁴¹ A scribe compiling a Machaut manuscript (for example, at Bonne’s court) – for which the composer may have written a good deal of music – is likely to have had access to composer’s drafts: these may also have been the source of the variants in the *Remede*’s accidentals (though copies used by performers may also have been incorporated).

However, the chansons in **CII** were very probably incomplete when **CI** was compiled: had they been available, there could have been little reason to omit them from a manuscript of collected works; and, while some had been completed by the time **CII** was copied, others were included in an unrevised or incomplete state. External evidence appears to support the dates suggested by the split between **CI** and **CII**; *On ne porroit penser* (B3), for example, apparently takes its first line from a lyric from the *Regret Guillaume* by Jean de la Mote, which survives in an manuscript dated 1339 (and may have been written some time before that date).⁴²

⁴¹ A similar description could be applied to parts of manuscript E, though the circumstances of its compilation are very different from those of **CII**.

⁴² Earp 1995, 352

Günther also pointed out the acrostic in the first line of R6, *Cinc, un, treze, huit, neuf d'amour fine*, a work first appearing in **CII**; this gave the fifth, first, thirteenth, eighth and ninth letters of the alphabet, E A N H J – spelling Jehan, or possibly Jehanne.⁴³ It is possible to speculate, therefore, that it was composed for the marriage in February 1352 of Charles de Navarre to Jeanne de France.⁴⁴

The unfamiliarity of contemporary scribes with these genres can be detected in the layout of certain songs in **CII**: Earp noted that “evidence from the earliest Machaut MS suggests that the polyphonic chansons were unusual and uncomfortable pieces for these scribes to copy.”⁴⁵ A small number of songs, for example, were copied across a page turn: these are B18 (on f.199r-v), B23 (f.200r-v) and R6 (f.203r-v). In addition to this, the *ouvert/ clos* endings of the *formes fixes* had been previously used only in instrumental *estampies*: this could have led in some cases to problems in text layout, with insufficient space being left for music.

The circumstances of **CII**'s copying have been discussed above; the significance of the variants in these readings lies in the fact that, in their unfinished state, they must represent a stage close to Machaut's own drafts, if not direct copies of them. While these accidentals could, of course, be scribal additions or errors at an intermediate stage, the accidentals in these pieces may represent those that Machaut used in his drafts.

⁴³ Günther 1982, 103

⁴⁴ Subsequently, Earp suggested further possible occasions for this rondeau, namely the marriage of Jean Duke of Normandy to Jeanne de Boulogne in February 1350, or of the Dauphin Charles – who was to become Charles V – to Jeanne de Bourbon in April 1350 (Earp 1991a, 132n).

⁴⁵ Earp 1991b, 112

5: Machaut Manuscripts Vg and B

5.1 Introduction

Manuscript **Vg** (*olim* US-NYw) is perhaps the best executed of the surviving Machaut manuscripts; its status has been enhanced by Ludwig's decision to use it in 1926 as the basis for the first complete edition of Machaut's music.¹ Currently accessible only on microfilm, having been secreted for many years in the Wildenstein collection in New York,² **Vg** is a parchment manuscript with numerous miniatures, though not as richly decorated as **C**; it has been dated by its illuminations to c1370-72,³ though its copying may have been started in the mid-1360s.⁴

The paper manuscript **B** (F-Pn1584) is included here since it is very closely related to **Vg**. It was thought originally to be a fifteenth-century copy of **Vg** – Ludwig was the first to point this out, in his 1911 edition of the musical works of the *Remede de Fortune*⁵ – though the fifteenth-century date was later shown to be incorrect by Elizabeth Keitel;⁶ she discovered that, apart from a number of leaves replaced after

¹ Ludwig: "Während in den bisherigen Ausgaben von Kompositionen Machauts meist die Fassung **G** wiedergegeben ist, kann, da die musikalische Überlieferung in **F-G** leider nur allzuoft durch Fehler entsteht ist, eine musikalische Gesamtausgabe nur **A** oder **Vg**, die beide in hohem Maße musikalisch korrekt, wenngleich auch sie nicht absolut fehlerfrei sind, in den Mittelpunkt stellen. Ich entschied mich für **Vg**, da deren musikalische Fassung diese Wahl durchaus rechtfertigt und da dadurch gleichzeitig die Überlieferung dieses schwer zugänglichen Kodex als Haupttext erscheint." (Ludwig 1926, II:45a) [While the readings in **G** have been reproduced in previous editions of Machaut's compositions, because the transmission of **F-G** is unfortunately all too often compromised through errors, a complete edition of the music can only be based upon **A** or **Vg** – which are both to a large extent musically correct, although also not completely free of mistakes. I decided upon **Vg**, since its musical readings thoroughly justified the choice, and thus at the same time made available the text of this inaccessible codex.]

Chichmaref's 1909 edition of Machaut's texts was based on **F-G**.

² Access to **Vg** was permitted, on one brief occasion in 1977, to Margaret Bent, Elizabeth Keitel, Bernard Bailly de Sourcy and Harry Bober (Earp 1995, 84). Recently it has been seen by a number of Machaut scholars in Paris where, at the time of writing, it is being offered for sale.

³ Avril 1982, 124-25. Bullock suggests that **Vg**'s text was copied by c1365 (1998, 88n12).

⁴ One of **Vg**'s illuminators had also worked on **C**, according to Avril (1982). Earp added that "Such a large number of collaborators may suggest that the book had to be produced quickly." (Earp 1995, 84)

⁵ Ludwig 1911, 408-409.

⁶ Elizabeth Keitel: "The importance of Machaut's paper MS (Bib. Nat. F. Fr. 1585)", read at the annual meeting of the AMS, Washington DC 1976; cited in Bent 1983, 54.

1400, the entire manuscript dated from the fourteenth century.⁷ Keitel subsequently used watermarks to determine that **B** had been copied between 1370 and 1372. **B** has no paintings, and only two decorated initials (in blue and red), indicating that it was intended as an exemplar, while the replacement of certain pages suggests that it was extensively used as such. The manuscript corresponds in context, order and layout almost exactly to **Vg**, and has been seen as a direct copy of that manuscript. Alison Bullock's analysis of variants in both sources has, however, led her to the conclusion that **B** was not a direct copy of **Vg**, since **Vg**'s scribes had access to some materials not available to **B**'s.⁸

A good deal of new material was added to Machaut's oeuvre in the fifteen years or so between the copying of **C** (c1349-56) and that of **Vg** and **B** (c1370-72). This included both poetry and music: in the former category were the narrative poems *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, *Le Confort d'Ami*, *Le Dit de la Fonteinne Amoureuse* and *Le Dit de la Harpe*, together with nearly sixty lyrics added to the *Loange des Dames* – bringing the total to two hundred and fifty-six – and seven *Complaintes*. The musical works new to **Vg** and **B** encompassed all those genres found in **C**, the additions being B25-36, R8 and R11-17, V25, 32 and 36 (plus a tenor added to the previously monophonic V29), Lais 15-18 and 22 (the *Lay de plour*), and M21-23.⁹ The *Messe de Nostre Dame* and the *Hoquetus David* represented genres not found in **C**.

The added chansons included those that later made up part of *Le Livre dou Voir Dit*. All its musical constituents were included in **Vg** and **B**,¹⁰ in the relevant music sections, but no text was given for the *dit*; this survived in no source earlier than **A**, indicating that the exemplar for the musical part of this *dit* was separate from the text – a common practice for narrative poems with musical interpolations, and one which may lie behind the numerous variants in readings of the *Remede de Fortune* throughout the Machaut manuscripts. (Earp has also speculated that the recipient of the manuscript **Vg**

⁷ The replaced leaves are bifolios 1/8, 9/16, 17/24 and 33, to use the modern foliation. (Hoepffner had, in any case, previously assumed that **B** dated from the fourteenth century.)

⁸ Bullock 1998, 93

⁹ M4, mistakenly omitted from **C** during re-copying, was included in **Vg** and **B**.

¹⁰ The lyrics set to music in the *Voir Dit* are (in the order in which they occur in the poem): *Plourez, dames, plourez* (B32), *Dame, se vous n'avez apercu* (R13), *Nes qu'on porroit* (B33), *Sans cuer, dolens* (R4), *Dix et sept* (R17), *Quant Theseus Ne quier veoir* (B34) and *Se pour ce muir* (B36).

may have already owned the poem in a separate copy.)¹¹ Although **B** is an almost exact replica of **Vg**, it contains two works, Rondeaux 14 and 15, now no longer present in **Vg** due to the later removal of a folio from that manuscript.

The chansons ‘inherited’ from **CI** retained their original order in **Vg** and **B**, while those new to **CII** were added to the relevant genre groupings. New works were placed after these, again arranged by genre, resulting in what appears to be a basic chronological ordering, an order which was retained by manuscripts **A** and **G**. Unlike **E** – and, to some extent, **C** – **Vg** was not copied in numerous separate sections that would allow for easy changes of order, nor does it appear to have been specifically constructed to serve as an exemplar: Earp has shown that three simple alterations would have been possible, allowing more convenient separation of works into gatherings, but these were not made.¹² (A more easily separable manuscript could be copied more quickly, since a number of scribes would be able to work at once.)¹³ Earp’s opinion was that **Vg** is an “authoritative copy” and that Machaut retained control of **Vg**’s *exemplar* but not of the copy, **Vg** itself;¹⁴ this would allow for certain anomalies in **Vg**, such as the confused layout of *En amer* in the *Remede*, the omission of two bars of cantus in both **Vg** and **B** in Ballade 30, or the variants in B26.

“Given the extraordinary accuracy noted by Ludwig for the music in **Vg**, one has to conclude that it was copied under the best conditions from Machaut’s exemplar.”¹⁵

Unfortunately, little information is available on **Vg**’s scribes; Bullock has however noted that, despite the evidently informed nature of scribal interventions, **Vg**’s scribes

¹¹ He has suggested that **Vg**’s owner was, by the 1380s, Yolande of Bar, Queen of Aragon; it is also possible that she received the manuscript from Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix, the brother-in-law of Machaut’s erstwhile patron Charles of Navarre (Earp 1995, 84).

¹² Earp 1983, 105-6. The presence in **Vg** of letters denoting the order of repetitions in the *formes fixes* also indicates that the manuscript may have been designed for performance.

¹³ Ludwig had noted that the outer pages of the music section, from the *lais* onwards, appeared worn, suggesting that this part of the manuscript may have originally been bound in a separate volume; he also remarked that the folios of the music section had an independent signature system from the rest of the manuscript, and that the ballade section looked well used (Ludwig 1926, II:9b).

¹⁴ Earp 1989, 479

¹⁵ Ibid.

do not appear to have made large-scale alterations, and has speculated that the copying of **Vg**'s exemplar may have been supervised by the composer.¹⁶

The first text section of **B** had seven scribes, perhaps suggesting that speed of copying was paramount;¹⁷ one of these was the principal text scribe of the music section, and may also have been the music scribe for most of the manuscript. In any case, a single scribe copied the greater part of **B**'s music, while a second copied B21-34 and V6-29 in gatherings 39 and 41. (Most of the music texts were not copied by **B**'s text scribes; in the *Remede*, for example, spaces were left blank for musical interpolations, and both lyric and music were added by a later hand.) Both of **B**'s music scribes had a tendency to be inaccurate, as Margaret Bent has pointed out:

“... Neither [music] scribe ranks very high in terms of musical intelligence or experience, and both are subject to the verdict of having copied, uncomprehendingly and probably in haste, musical symbols of which they had little understanding and to which they could apply no trained instincts with respect to lateral or vertical spacing ...”¹⁸

As examples will show, this is certainly borne out by **B**'s treatment of accidentals: in numerous instances, accidentals that also appear in **Vg** are inaccurately copied, moved or omitted in **B**. Earp stressed Machaut's efforts to prevent corrupt copies of his works getting into circulation, adding: “Given the poor quality, no doubt due to haste, of ... **B**, it is probable that **B** forms a tradition outside the one controlled by the desires of the author.”¹⁹ Bent agreed with Earp that the *dits* and the lyric verse could have been copied from **Vg**, allowing that differences in spelling could have resulted from dictation.²⁰ The music section also corresponded exactly to **Vg**, including errors and omissions – with the exception of certain melismas, the text of which was differently placed because, in a reversal of the usual scribal procedure, it had not been entered before the music.²¹

¹⁶ Bullock 1998, 88. Intriguingly, Leech-Wilkinson has pointed out that the text hand for **Vg**'s *Remede* is very similar to that of **A**'s *Voir Dit*, suggesting that these may have originated in the same workshop (personal communication).

¹⁷ Earp 1983, 196

¹⁸ Bent 1985, 59

¹⁹ Earp 1989, 476. Earp has suggested that the existence of **B** might “help to explain the proliferation of the ‘Machaut MS’ in corners far from Machaut's center of activity” (Earp 1983, 104).

²⁰ This practice was described by Machaut in the *Voir Dit*: see Williams 1969. Bullock has noted that orthographical variants in the *lais* suggest that their texts were also likely to have been dictated (Bullock 1998, 92).

²¹ Bent cites instances in the Amen of the Credo, Motets 4 and 21, and Ballade 36 (1985, 56n).

The provenance of **B**'s reading of the *Prise d'Alexandrie* has been the source of some speculation: Keitel first suggested that **B**'s copy might not have been copied "beginning to end" from any one source, but rather from more than one fascicle.²² Bent suggested that the poem may have been copied *from B* into **Vg**, since **B**'s reading is the more inclusive.²³ Earp argued against Keitel, while however showing that **B**'s scribe must have had at least two sources to hand at the same time.²⁴ Most recently, Bullock has speculated that the source of **B**'s *Prise* was a separately circulating copy.²⁵

Earp also noted that the fifteenth-century replacement sheets might indicate "that the MS lay in an unbound state for a long time"²⁶ – that is, **B** was used as exemplar for a large number of manuscripts. (Bent has agreed that **E** copied from **B** in an unbound state, supporting this thesis.) The possible permutations of **Vg** and **B**'s surprisingly complex relationship have been summarized by Alison Bullock thus:

"Either **Vg** was copied in the mid 1360s, and then **B** was copied in haste when **Vg** came in for illumination (the *Prise* was copied first to **B** and from there into **Vg**); or **Vg** and **B** were copied c1370, from a manuscript made in the 1360s – their production was unauthorised, which is why no new works were included (except the *Prise*, which could have been circulating separately). A third possibility is that the text sections were copied separately, the music sections perhaps some time later."²⁷

In addition to the variants common to both **Vg** and **B**, a large number were unique to **B**; these tended to be instances of careless or ignorant copying, as Bent indicated, although a very few accidentals were notated in **B** without appearing in **Vg**. The variants in accidentals are examined below, including the single instance, in the *formes fixes*, of direct contradiction between these two sources: **B** notates #-c where **Vg** has b.²⁸ other errors include incorrect capital letters – a result of the rubricators having misread guide letters – and an incorrect reading of the central section of V10, *De bonte, de valour*, and are discussed below.

²² Keitel 1982

²³ Bent 1985, 59-60

²⁴ Seventeen notes of the wrong lai were copied over the text, suggesting that the scribe had confused gatherings XXXII and XXIX (Earp 1983, 103).

²⁵ Bullock 1998, 99

²⁶ Earp 1983, 102

²⁷ Bullock 1998, 99

²⁸ *Dame de qui*, contratenor b.17 (see 140, below).

5.2 Variants in manuscripts Vg and B

5.2.1 Introduction

As a study of its variants will show, manuscript Vg constituted a ‘new edition’ of Machaut’s complete works, largely reproduced in B; even with regard to the notation of accidentals, a different approach can be perceived in these two sources to that of C. It might be asked why such a difference was thought necessary. Certainly, where C’s readings were unclear, there was the opportunity to amend them: this was the case in B24’s tenor, where the rhythm was clarified in Vg,²⁹ and in *Helas pour quoy* (R2), where the inaccurate notation of b.11-15 of the cantus by C, A and G (copied a third too low) was corrected. However, the empty triplum staves of ballades 3, 5, 7 and 11, which might have been thought clearly redundant by c1370 – the newer works in Vg no longer use the scoring of cantus-tenor-triplum – are retained in both manuscripts: remarkably, the only blank stave removed in Vg was that for a contratenor to B10.

There is little reason to expect that the notation of accidentals might be substantially altered in a manuscript of the same repertoire copied only twenty years later; speculation is, in any case, hampered by the dearth of comparable sources, the earliest repertory anthologies of the second half of the century dating from c1375-80. Moreover, different criteria apply to the notation of accidentals in repertory sources, so a direct comparison with the Machaut manuscripts would be misleading. Vg’s variants are perhaps less signs of ‘progress’ than of the approach of a different editor: for example, the use of signatures, addition of cautionary accidentals and treatment of some of the more ‘chromatic’ moments of Machaut’s writing are all perceptibly different from that in manuscript C. From an examination of these variants, therefore, it might be possible to reconstruct the ‘editorial policy’ on the notation of accidentals in Vg – or its exemplar – and the transmission of these accidentals to B.

²⁹ See Ex. 4.13 (above, 115). It is also possible that these errors were made in the copying of C, rather than being actively corrected in Vg’s exemplar.

5.2.2 Accidentals in Vg and B

To C's readings of the *formes fixes* Vg added a number of cautionary accidentals – accidentals which did not only preserve the readings given in C, nor alter their implied inflections, but reinforced them by specifically notating inflections; and while this should not suggest that C was a *direct* source for Vg, it is possible that materials used in the preparation of C later formed the basis for parts of Vg. Such accidentals were generally added to Vg, and to B, in the following situations: in a new musical section – at the first appearance of a pitch inflected previously – or on a new stave, for the same reasons; to ensure the cancellation of a previously notated inflection; as an 'indirect' cancellation, most frequently notating ♭(-b) after a #-f (or vice versa), and thus also indicating a change of hexachord and solmization; or the occasional use of a sharp or flat at a significant point in the music, as an aid to singers – generally at a cadential point or on a sustained sonority. As in C, changes in vocal scoring could also affect Vg's notation of accidentals – as in *Il m'est avis* (B22), *Mors sui* (V29), and, in the *Remede*, the ballade *Dame de qui*; the impact of these additional voices upon the respective works is discussed later in this chapter.

Cautionary accidentals added in Vg and B at the start of a new section of a piece include *Helas! tant ay dolour* (B2) [Ex. 5.1(a)] – at bar 16 of the cantus a #-f is added, having already been notated in the first section of the cantus, at b.6 (a) – and in the cantus of *Se je me plaing* (B15) (b), where the second section begins at b.7, and an ♭-e is already marked in b.5:

- Ex. 5.1** (a) *Helas! tant ay dolour* (B2), b.15-17, C and VgB
 (b) *Se je me plaing* (B15), b.7-8, C and VgB

The addition of accidentals to ensure the cancellation of a previously notated inflection is illustrated in *N'en fait n'en dit* (B11) [Ex. 5.2(a)], where the ♭ in b.3 of the cantus (which coincides with C's ♭ signature) is cancelled by a # in b.5. In *He! dame de valour* (V11) the intended f'-sharp in b.1 (here notated, inaccurately, as #-g), is

cancelled three bars later with \flat -f (**b**); this had not been necessary in **C**, since the new stave fell between the two and thus had the effect of negating the F-sharp:

Ex. 5.2 **(a)** *N'en fait n'en dit* (B11), b.3-6
 (b) He! dame de valour (V11), b.1-5

A similar example is found in *Helas et comment* (V18) [**Ex. 5.3**]: here the \sharp -f in b.19 was evidently notated because the \flat alone would suggest an F-natural, giving a melodic fourth rather than sharpening the 'leading-note':

Ex. 5.3 *Helas et comment* (V18), b.17-19

An example of an accidental notated at a key cadential point can be found in *Cinc, un, treze, wit* (R6) [**Ex. 5.4**] at b.16 of the cantus: despite the prominent \sharp -c's notated in b.13, as well as in b.14 of the tenor, which would surely be enough to alert the singer, another is marked in the penultimate bar for the final cadence:

Ex. 5.4 *Cinc, un, treze, wit* (R6), b.13-17

Such accidentals may have been helpful on a first reading; a glance at the final cadence of the work would have suggested that Cs preceding Ds should probably be sharpened, even where a \sharp -c was not marked.

If these and similar instances are compared by genre, certain tendencies may be discerned: in the early ballades (B1-16) a large number of cautionary accidentals are notated for the first time in **Vg** and **B**, more or less evenly distributed throughout these works; a similar situation is found in Ballades 17-24, works which first appeared in **CII**. To those rondeaux that are found in **C**, fewer cautionary accidentals have been added: while self-evident, it is worth pointing out that the rondeau is a much shorter form than the ballade, and would thus require fewer cautionary accidentals. It appears, then, that a significant number of cautionary accidentals had been added to the ballades and, to a lesser extent, the rondeaux of **Vg** and **B**.

By contrast, few cautionary accidentals were added to **Vg** and **B**'s virelais – despite the habitual copying out of repeated sections, which might have been expected to occasion more accidentals.³⁰ While accidentals were sometimes added by **Vg** and **B**, they were as likely to be missing where **C** had notated them. However, a number of accidentals – those necessary to indicate directed progressions – *were* added to the virelais: these notated inflections that might have been implied in **C**, but which perhaps appeared ambiguous without a written accidental. This has implications for a modern-day editor of this repertoire, suggesting that one might be justified in adding more such accidentals (generally #s) to virelais – that is, to emphasise the implied progressions by sharpening leading-notes, rather than conforming to any 'modal' template which might otherwise be applied to in a monophonic work. Examples can be found in *Puis que ma dolour* (V7) [Ex. 5.5(a)] and *Dame, a qui m'ottri* (V12) (b), as well as *Tuit mi penser* (V28) (c):

- Ex. 5.5** (a) *Puis que ma dolour* (V7), b.1-7
 (b) *Dame, a qui m'ottri* (V12), b.13-16
 (c) *Tuit mi penser* (V28), b.1-3 and b.13-14

Given the number of cautionary accidentals appearing for the first time in **Vg** and **B**, it might be expected that the majority of **C**'s cautionary accidentals had also been retained, and this is the case with all *formes fixes* except the music of the *Remede*. A small group of accidentals in B1-16 appears in **C** (and subsequently in **A** and **G**) but not in **Vg** or **B**; while these may have been added by **C**, their chromatic nature suggests that they may have been omitted in preparation for **Vg**. The #-d in bar 7 of *Riches d'amour* (B5) is probably the only notated D-sharp in the *formes fixes* intended to give that pitch inflection: it does not appear in **Vg** or **B** [Ex. 5.6(a)]. Similarly, in *Se je me plaing* (B15) the #-e (for e'-natural) in b.13 of the cantus indicates a progression towards the unison F in b.14 in **C**, **A** and **G**; without this #-e, the single line could be interpreted as being centred on the preceding d', with e'-flat as leading-note (b):

³⁰ This copying out of repeated music sections is consistent in all but three of the virelais that had previously appeared in **C**; these are V16 and V25, for which **C** gives additional text but no more music (while **Vg** has both), while V30 includes the repeated music section in **C** but not **Vg**.

Ex. 5.6 (a) *Riches d'amour* (B5), b.5-8
 (b) *Se je me plaing* (B15), b.13-15

Vg's reading of the **CII** *formes fixes* likewise includes the majority of C's accidentals; of the few accidentals not appearing in the virelais of Vg and B, two of these result from a failure to include accidentals in written-out repeats of music sections.³¹

5.2.2.1 Accidentals in the *Remede de fortune*

Vg's tendency to reproduce C's accidentals is not apparent in the *Remede*: these may have been actively edited out of Vg's exemplar (though again it is also possible that they were additions by C's scribe, and not present in the 'original materials'). In particular, Vg's reading of the ballade *En amer* omits numerous accidentals seen in C, even where the accidental in question has been subsequently carried over into later sources (particularly A and G). Examples can be found in b.13 of the triplum [Ex. 5.7], where C's #-f is not in Vg or B; the inflection is in any case strongly implied, by the context (the cadential movement at the end of the section) and by the #-f marked in the contratenor at the same point. The triplum #-f later appears in both A and G:

Ex. 5.7 *En amer*, b.13-18, C and VgB

A similar situation is found in bar 16 of the triplum, also Ex 5.7(a), where C notated an additional #-f for the new section beginning at b.15 – which, while not in Vg and B, reappears in A and G. However, a significant number of cautionary accidentals were also added to Vg's reading of the *Remede* – particularly in the polyphonic works *En amer*, *Dame de qui* and *Dame mon cuer*. Overall, then, the *Remede*'s variants in Vg do not appear particularly systematic, and suggest that the musical works had either a different editor, or a different source or sources; this recalls the variants found in C.³²

³¹ These are V6 (at b.18 and 28) and V15 (b.28).

³² Alison Bullock has also noted that, given the inconsistency of its variants, the music of the *Remede* was most probably transmitted on single sheets (Bullock 1998, 95).

5.2.2.2 Positioning of Accidentals

Despite the exhortations of Prosdocimus to notate accidentals “just before the note whose syllable is to be changed”,³³ the exact placing of a single accidental was frequently regarded as fluid, and variants in its position might exist even between a copy and its immediate source. (Clearly such a direct relationship did not exist between **C** and **Vg**, although the much closer relationship between **Vg** and **B** is discussed below.) A signature, for example, might be repositioned as an accidental – or vice versa – if a stave ending fell in a different place in the copy. **Vg** shows no overall preference for placing accidentals markedly earlier or later than other Machaut sources.

It is tempting, in some cases, to see changes of position as attempts to clarify a reading: in the tenor of *Helas tant ay dolour* (B2) [Ex. 5.8], **Vg** and **B** position the ♭ as early as possible – immediately after the B-natural it is intended to cancel, possibly to alert singers to the approaching change in solmization:

Ex. 5.8 *Helas tant ay dolour* (B2), b.19-22, tenor

While this may be reading too much into such simple variants, it is not possible to show that such edits were not made – only that they are, at this distance, very hard to trace.

5.2.2.3 Signatures

As the previous chapter suggested, the Machaut manuscripts tend – with a few exceptions – to use signatures in a pragmatic manner; that is, a signature is notated where it would incur few cancellations, as in a few of the monophonic virelais. This is certainly the case with **Vg** and **B**; even in those of the *formes fixes* which appear, superficially, to be notated with relatively consistent signatures, some of these flats could more accurately be described as accidentals that have been pre-placed slightly to align them with the beginning of the stave, perhaps for sake of a tidy appearance.³⁴ Even *Se pour ce muir* (B36), with a tonal centre of B-flat, does not have a regularly

³³ See 29, above

³⁴ Bullock notes that **Vg**'s reading of Lai 6 has an opening signature of #-f and ♭-b (Bullock 1998, 88).

notated signature in these two sources, although **C**, **A**, **G** and **E** all notate signatures in at least some staves.³⁵

5.2.2.4 Accidentals unique to **Vg** and **B**

A small number of accidentals appear in these two manuscripts but no others – an unusual situation, since, broadly speaking, accidentals first appearing in **Vg** and **B** tend to be found in at least one later Machaut source, generally **A**, **G** or both. This group consists principally of accidentals that do not obey the usual *contrapunctus* rules, contradicting the more conventional readings of other sources; some of these appear to have their own logic, while others are probably the result of scribal error.

In addition to the probable checking of a manuscript after both music and text had been copied, corrections might be made before this – when the music scribe entered the notes over the text – if he noticed anything amiss: for example, fine lines might be added to connect notes to the relevant syllable, to clarify the alignment of text and music. The numerous errors in **B**'s text-setting and music copying, detailed by Earp in *Scribal Practice*,³⁶ indicate that **B** was not thoroughly checked after the music had been entered (though some text errors may have been noticed while the music scribe was working). The far smaller number of errors in **Vg**, by contrast, suggest that this manuscript was carefully checked after copying, as well as having had more accomplished scribes from the outset; it might be suggested, then, that variants unique to both **Vg** and **B** were likely to have been intentional, at least on the part of a scribe.

However, it is possible that the example of *Se pour ce muir* (B36) [Ex. 5.9] was a scribal error. The #-f in b.29 of the cantus may have been added by a scribe seeing only the cantus line and ignorant of the underlying *contrapunctus*; although bars 29-30 of the cantus alone might suggest a leading-note of f'-sharp to g', the lower voices indicate that the progression is directed towards the f-c'-f' sonority at the start of b.31, with a leading-note of e'-natural. Readings without and with this f'-sharp are shown below:

³⁵ See 160n19

³⁶ Earp 1983, 212-4

Ex. 5.9 *Se pour ce muir* (B36), b.28-31
and reduction, **VgB**

Another apparent error may have been caused by an ambiguously placed B-flat signature: this is the \flat in b.41 of the contratenor of *De toutes flours* (B31). This \flat , also notated subsequently in **G**, occurs simultaneously with \sharp in the tenor, as **Ex 5.10** shows: it is possible that a B-flat signature was added by the scribe, or that a \flat intended for the \flat in b.44 was mistakenly preplaced to create a ‘signature’. However, the contratenor line does not lend itself to avoiding the resulting semitone, and while a scribe may have added the \flat itself, the inflection appears to be inherent in the music.

Ex. 5.10 *De toutes flours* (B31), b.38-43, **VgB**

The clear divergence between, on the one hand, **C**, **A** and **G**, and on the other, **Vg**, **B** and **E**, is illustrated in *Merci vous pri* (R3) [**Ex. 5.11**]: while **C** and **A** notate a \flat -e in b.20 of the tenor, **Vg** and **B** have \sharp -e (**E** and **G** have neither). The e-flat inflection seems more probable in the context of the work, which notates other \flat -e’s at various points in all sources; the \sharp -e must either be a deliberate change by **Vg**’s scribe, or a misreading of, perhaps, a badly drawn flat:

Ex. 5.11 *Merci vous pri* (R3), b.18-22, **C** and **VgB**

A more confusing situation is found in the contratenor of *Dame de qui* [**Ex. 5.12**], where a \flat -e appears for no evident reason in an ascending line, where *contrapunctus* would lead one to expect e-natural – and in which e-natural acts as the leading-note to the following *clos* bar. (Intriguingly, e-natural *is* indicated in the reading given in **PR**.)³⁷ The \flat -e also appears in **G**; it is not present in **C**, since the latter gives only the cantus and tenor for this work. This accidental seems most likely to have been a scribal error of some sort; it may derive from confusion over a source in which the tenor and contratenor were notated in short score, since the tenor notates a \flat :

³⁷ In fact **PR** marks \sharp -d, an inaccuracy characteristic of that manuscript.

Ex. 5.12 *Dame de qui*, b.20-25, **C** and **VgB**

Finally, the tenor of *Quant j'ay l'espart* (R5) contains the ligature bGAGF#BAGF [Ex. 5.13]. While the \flat appears in **E** as well as **Vg** and **B**, the \sharp does not, and the notated b-natural does not fit into the overall contrapuntal scheme: the cadence at b.10-11 should clearly be f-natural/d' \rightarrow e/e', despite **Vg**'s \sharp -b apparently implying f-sharp. This \sharp , too, appears to be an error, and may have resulted from a misreading of a sign marking the B-flat as *fa*:

Ex. 5.13 *Quant j'ay l'espart* (R5), b.6-11, **C** and **VgB**

5.2.2.5 Misplaced accidentals

In addition to numerous inaccuracies unique to **B**, a small number of accidentals appear misplaced in both **Vg** and **B**: they have been notated in **Vg** on a pitch adjacent to the intended note, and have remained uncorrected in **B**. Examples can be found in B9 (cantus b.18 \sharp -g for \sharp -f), B15 (cantus b.11 \flat -d for \flat -e), and B21 (contratenor b.7 \sharp for \sharp -c and b.23 \sharp -e); there are also instances in B25, B30, R3 and V11, as well as two in the *Remede*. However, these are still fewer than those misplacements, detailed below, unique to **B**.

5.2.3 Vocal Scoring in **Vg** and **B**

Vg and **B** supply a new voice or voices for three chansons: these are *Il m'est avis* (B22), *Dame de qui* (in the *Remede*), and *Mors sui* (V29). **C** presented *Mors sui* (V29) as a monophonic virelai; however, **Vg**, **B** and subsequent manuscripts add a tenor part. No spaces or empty staves are present in **C** to give any indication of a future tenor – very possibly because, at that stage, Machaut had no such intention: polyphonic virelais form only a very small proportion of Machaut's output in this genre.³⁸ They

³⁸ Of the thirty virelais in **Vg** and **B**, only five are polyphonic, four being for two voices (cantus and tenor), with *Tres bonne et belle* (V26) adding a contratenor; concentrated among the later-numbered virelais, these are V26, V27 (*En mon cuer*), V29, V31 (*Plus dure que un dyament*), V32 (*Dame mon cuer*

were probably composed after 1349, since they do not appear in **C** at all, and may have been written for another patron, or in an attempt to widen the appeal of an increasingly obsolete form; in this case it appears that Machaut made use of a previously constructed melody. Considering V29 as a two-part work, the cantus is punctuated by static ‘cadential’ phrases which, particularly in the central section, allow the tenor to be fitted around it [Ex. 5.14]; however, this is not always particularly convincing – see b.21 of the tenor – betraying the monophonic origin of this polyphonic virelai. The contrapuntal progressions implicit in a free-standing melodic line could be affected, and possibly altered, by the addition of a tenor; **Vg**’s reading not only utilised the tenor to reinforce implied inflections, but notated additional #s in the cantus. (Typically, **Vg** also omitted the cantus signatures given in **C**.)³⁹ The tenor’s augmented second in b.5 is also notated with a #-c in **Vg** and **B**:

Ex. 5.14 *Mors sui* (V29), b.19-25

C gave only the cantus of B22, although empty staves had been provided for the tenor and contratenor appearing in **Vg**, **B** and later sources: no space has been left for a triplum. In so far as they can be compared with **C**, a number of minor variants are found among **Vg**’s accidentals: specifically, **Vg** supplies a cautionary #-f in the cantus, at b.14. (The triplum had already notated #-fs in b.4 of the tenor and b.10.) While no #-f is noted in **C**’s cantus, the inflections might easily have been inferred from other voices when they had been added; clearly, given the empty staves as well as the static opening and sustained notes, the ballade could not have been intended for monophonic performance.

5.2.4 Further variants in **Vg** and **B**

It is perhaps not surprising that there are numerous variants in other aspects of the notation unique to **Vg** and **B**; while this is not the place to list all of them, a few may

emportes) and V36 (*Se je souspir*). The two virelais last added to Machaut’s oeuvre, present only in manuscripts **A** and **G**, are both polyphonic: these are V37 (*Moult sui de bonne heure nee*) and V38 (*De tout sui si confortee*).

³⁹ In **B** the tenor survives only from b.1-7, since the following folio is missing.

be mentioned here. A complete version of the cantus of *Pas de tor* (B30) is found in neither **Vg** nor **B**, and is extant only in manuscript **A**, dating from a few years later: the omission of two bars in **Vg** and **B** probably resulted from an eye-skip at some stage of copying. Other variants can be found in *Donnez seigneurs* (B26),⁴⁰ *Je vivroie liement* (V23) and *De bonte* (V10); and in the *Remede de Fortune*, discussed below.

5.3 Variants in B's accidentals

Most variants between **Vg** and **B** can be put down to the inaccuracies of **B**'s scribes – accidentals copied at the wrong pitch, repositioned slightly, or omitted – as well as one or two grosser errors. There are occasional vagaries of notation on the part of **Vg**: in two instances among the *formes fixes*, **Vg** notates *b-durum* as ♯ rather than the usual #, something that is not repeated in **B**; these occur in R8 (contratenor) and the *Remede*'s *Dame mon cuer* (triplum).⁴¹ However, the most frequent variant between **Vg** and **B** is the displacement of an accidental by a single tone or semitone, the typical situation being that **B** apparently copied **Vg** (or its exemplar) inaccurately. There are numerous examples,⁴² such as the cantus of *Rose, liz* (R10) [Ex. 5.15] – here **Vg** accurately notates *b-e*, while **B** has *b-d*:

Ex. 5.15 *Rose, liz* (R10), b.30-34 Cantus, **Vg** and **B**

⁴⁰ The principal variants in the readings of this ballade do not concern its accidentals, so need not be examined here; in any case, Alison Bullock has already undertaken a detailed study of variants and transmission (Bullock 1998, 170). Probably all that needs to be noted is that the reading in **Vg** and **B** omits a short passage from the tenor, so could be not performed as it stands. Manuscript **A** provides the missing bars, indicating that its reading was revised during preparation of the exemplar; however, **A** and **G** both omit b.9 of the contratenor. (It is possible that this omission was overlooked since the text of this work apparently referred to a specific occasion, and may have been considered unsuitable for repeated performance.)

⁴¹ Alison Bullock has suggested that they were the product either of a later correcting hand, or of copying from source materials available to **Vg** but not **B** (Bullock 1998, 95).

⁴² Some of these can be found in *Ce qui soustient moy* (R12) – at b.15 of the cantus, where **Vg** has # (for the intended B-natural to C-natural) while **B** has #-c; in the cantus of *Tres bonne et belle* (V26), where at b.26 **Vg** has #-f, while **B** has #-g; in *Dame de qui* (*Remede*) at b.26 of the cantus, with *b-e* in **Vg** but *b-d* in **B**; and in the b.34 of the cantus of *Dame mon cuer*, where **Vg** has *b* against **B**'s *b-c*.

Certain accidentals appearing in **Vg** are omitted in **B**; in *Tres bonne et belle* (V26), for instance, cautionary #-fs are omitted from **B** at the endings of both cantus sections – illustrated in **Ex. 5.16**, b.21 and b.30. (That in b.30 is preplaced to an unusual degree, as it is notated before the *ouvert* ending despite the presence of its ‘target’ note in the *clos* at b.33; this may explain its omission by **B**.)

Ex. 5.16 *Tres bonne et belle* (V26), b.20-22

A cautionary accidental in *En mon cuer* (V27), #-e (for #-f), is omitted from **B** in b.13 of the tenor, perhaps because, misread as e-natural, it appeared superfluous; and a further example can be found in *Dame, a qui m'ottri* (V12), in which the b-b signature at the beginning of a repeated section (b.23) appears in **Vg** but not **B**. It may be significant that all these examples occur in gathering XLI, one of the two copied by **B**'s second music scribe.

Given the apparent tendency of **B**'s two music scribes to copy carelessly (and, in the case of the second, occasionally to omit an accidental), it may not be entirely surprising that certain unique accidentals have also been added to **B**. In the contratenor of *Rose, liz* (R10) [**Ex. 5.17**], a # is notated at b.20 as a cautionary in **B** only – this is not unusual in itself, to ensure a major seventh step of c to b' natural,⁴³ and might have been added independently by a cautious music scribe:

Ex. 5.17 *Rose, liz* (R10), b.18-21

B's #-g in the triplum of *Se quanque amours* (B21), at b.37, may also have been added independently by a scribe [**Ex. 5.18**]: taking the line by itself, this functions as a sharpened leading note, but in the context of all four voices the accidental contradicts the contratenor's apparent g-d perfect fourth in bars 37-38. While the #-g may have been a scribal error in **B**, it is also possible that – as suggested in the previous chapter – this piece existed in two alternative readings for three voices (Tr-Ca-T and Ca-T-Ct).

⁴³ Such an addition is found in the Ivrea Codex's reading of R17 (see 224, below).

notated together in a four-part format; in the context of a Tr-Ca-T reading, a g' sharp would cause few problems:

Ex. 5.18 *Se quanque amours* (B21), b.36-40
Possible readings in **B**

It is possible that the #-g arose during the correcting process, or even from a performer's annotation. It should also be noted that **Vg**'s and **G**'s 9-5 sonorities in b.10 (caused by the triplum e') suggest that Machaut experienced some difficulty in the composition of this earliest four-part ballade, although the use of d' instead of e' in **B**, **C** and **E**'s readings enable the performance of all four voices simultaneously; Alison Bullock has argued that triplum variants indicate that this voice was the last to be composed, the contratenor and tenor having been conceived as a pair.⁴⁴

In *Puis que ma douleur* (V7) **B** notates a \downarrow_b signature at b.37 where **Vg** has not given one, possibly since the previous stave was also notated with a B-flat signature; while, in the cantus of *Dame de qui*, **B** gives two B-flat signatures that do not appear in **Vg** – the first at the start of bar 11, the second at the beginning of b.17 – where **E**, **C** and **A** also have signatures. This is not the only case in which signatures are notated differently in the two sources; instances can be found in B25 and in *En amer*.

The one occasion on which **B** directly contradicts **Vg** is in the *Remede*, at b.17 of the contratenor of *Dame de qui* (already noted above for its variant signatures); here **B** notates a #-c in place of **Vg**'s b-b [Ex. 5.19].

Ex. 5.19 *Dame de qui*, b.16-19

Given the b notated in the cantus, the #-c must be seen as a rather spectacular scribal error; the fact that it remained undetected is a clear indication of the scant checking received by **B** – no surprise if this was, as Earp suggested, an unauthorised copy. It is also significant that such an error is found in **B**'s reading of the *Remede*, given that

⁴⁴ Bullock 1998, 70-74

other readings of this work in the Machaut manuscripts show an unusually high number of variants.

5.4 B's other variants and scribal errors

The differences distinguishing the approaches of Vg's and B's music scribes have been summarized by Alison Bullock:⁴⁵ Vg maintains a clear relationship between text and music, where B often does not; Vg adds text-ordering letters to the *formes fixes*, but B does not; B may have correct readings of Vg's text errors; Vg tends to notate points of division, which B does not always include; B at times uses different clefs from Vg, and in the *lais* occasionally omits clefs altogether.

On top of this different approach, a high proportion of B's variants appear to be scribal errors. Perhaps the most extreme example is *De bonte, de valour* (V10), in which B substitutes its own reading for the central section b.12-18; E subsequently gives a corrupted version of B's insertion.⁴⁶ Further variants can be found in other works, particularly those first preserved in CII (B18-22, B24), B30 and B36, a small number of *rondeaux* and *virelais*, and *Dame de qui*; these include positioning of stave ends or *ouvert* and *clos* bars beginning at different points, and were probably the work of an imprecise scribe. *Tres douce dame* (B24) has a particularly large number of such minor variants: six in the cantus alone were perpetuated by E.⁴⁷

Additional variants include a descending figure in the tenor of B22, visibly erased in Vg but remaining in B.⁴⁸ B's reading of *Se pour ce muir* (B36) contains a number of variants: b.17-19 are omitted from the tenor, again probably through an eye-skip; at the change of stave in b.28 of the contratenor, the music has been copied a third

⁴⁵ Ibid., 97

⁴⁶ These readings were examined by Margaret Bent in her paper "Vg, B and E" (Bent 1985, 57-8).

⁴⁷ See 170, below

⁴⁸ This curious variant is erased but still visible in A, and is also preserved in G and PR. It seems probable that the erased notes were present in the exemplar, and perhaps erased when Vg was checked, though it is surprising that the same appears to have occurred in A. Alison Bullock has suggested that "the erasures were carried out on Machaut's instruction, possibly because of the subsequently added triplum" (Bullock 1998, 78).

too low; and this stave also begins four notes earlier in **B** than in **Vg**. All these suggest hurried copying on the part of **B**'s scribe. Further variants are to be found among the *virelais*: the omitted #-f's in V26 have already been mentioned, while **B**'s reading of this work also gives a slightly different notation of cantus rhythms and, unusually, a changed ligature in b.28-29. *Douce dame jolie* (V4) and *Tuit mi penser* (V28) contain, in **B**, minor variants such as the addition of a dotted rhythm, inaccuracies of pitch, and omission of rests. Lastly, however, **B**'s reading of *Dame de qui* gives a number of variants: in one instance here, b.23 of the triplum, the error is with **Vg** rather than **B** – supporting the idea that **Vg** and **B** shared an exemplar, but that **B** did not copy from **Vg** itself.

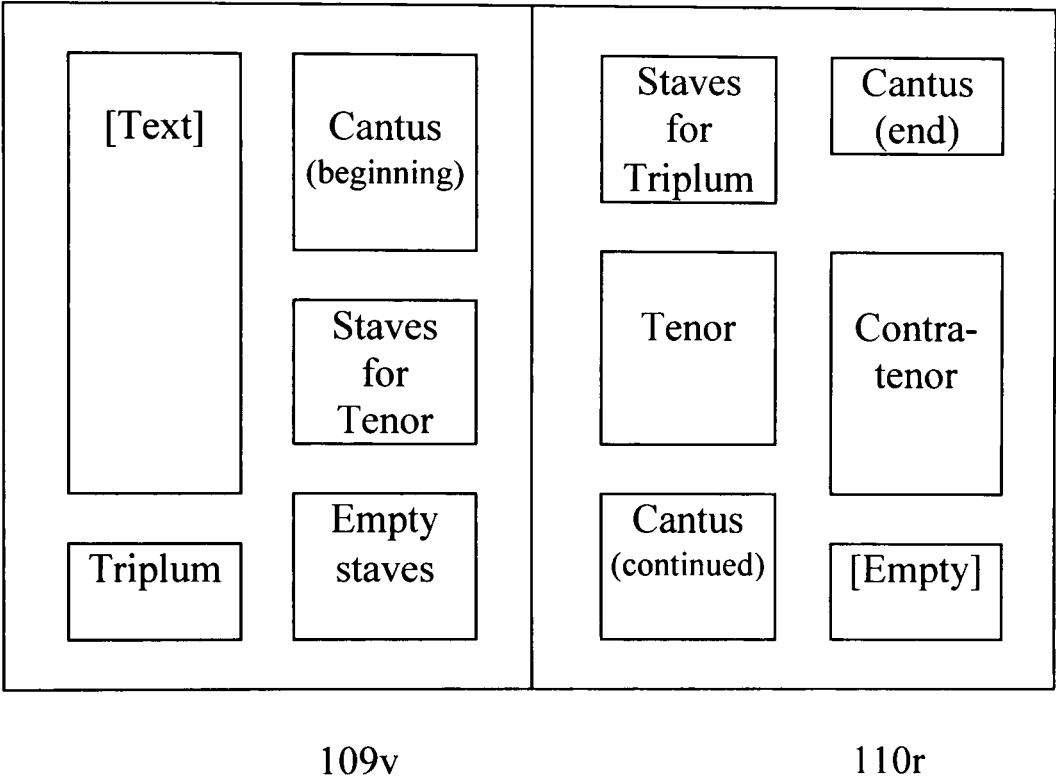
5.5 The *Remede de Fortune*

Variants explored earlier in this chapter suggest that the *Remede de Fortune* did not share the editorial policy of **Vg**'s other secular works: more variants of all types are found between **Vg**'s and **C**'s readings here than anywhere else in the *formes fixes*.⁴⁹ As already noted, **C** gives only the cantus and tenor for *Dame de qui*, with no spaces for other voices; typically of the *Remede*, **Vg**'s reading not only omits some of **C**'s accidentals, but adds a number of its own. **Vg**'s reading of *En amer* has variants of all types when compared with **C**; many of these have no ready explanation, but appear rather to be alternative notations of accidentals – suggesting that the music of the *Remede* had an exemplar separate from the rest of **Vg**'s music, possibly prepared by a different editor. A separate source is likely for musical inserts in a long poem of this nature; **Vg** and **B** appear to have had access only to the music used in the *Voir Dit*, since the songs appear in the various music sections without the text of the poem. For example, the rhythm at the beginning of the cantus [Ex. 5.20] takes one of two forms throughout all sources: the first appears in **C**, **E** and the Reina Codex, while the second is given in **Vg**, **B**, **A** and **F-G**:

⁴⁹ Bullock has also noted that the relationship between **Vg** and **B** in the *Remede*'s music is different from that elsewhere in the music (ibid., 177).

Ex. 5.20 *En amer*, b.1-2, cantus

Fig. 5.1: Layout of *En amer* in Vg



Vg's layout of *En amer* [Fig. 5.1] is quite unprecedented, and further distances this source from C: triplum, tenor and cantus are each split between two pages, f.109v and f.110r, suggesting perhaps that the scribe had at first not realised the length of the ballade, or that he had overlooked the contratenor.⁵⁰ However this may have arisen, it shows that the exemplar for *En amer* – and perhaps for the rest of the *Remede* songs – could not have been as carefully prepared as Vg's exemplars must have been for other works.

⁵⁰ Earp suggested that this arrangement might have been the result of the scribe's avoiding a page-turn in the middle of the work (Earp 1983, 216). Bullock has speculated that the complexity of the work may have confused the text scribe, particularly if the exemplar was a single sheet (with the 'A' section of the ballade on *recto*, and 'B' on *verso*); this would not be unlikely in the case of musical interpolations to a long poem (Bullock 1998, 95).

5.6 Vg and B – a summary

From these variants it is possible to make an attempt at reconstructing Vg's editorial policy with regard to accidentals. Compared to C, new cautionary accidentals were notated to emphasise directed progressions, particularly in the virelais; most of the cautionary accidentals appearing in C were also notated in Vg. A small number of unusually remote accidentals in C were not notated in Vg, possibly having been edited out; signatures were not notated systematically, but rather pragmatically – evidently to avoid notating large numbers of cancellations; and Vg's music exemplar for the *formes fixes* appears to have been carefully checked. However, the music of the *Remede* does not follow these patterns, hence the probability that it had a different (and less rigorous) editor or scribe, and a separate exemplar – or several separate exemplars.

B cannot be said to have had a separate 'editorial policy' so much as a 'scribal practice', since it is effectively a copy of Vg – albeit a sometimes inaccurate one. With regard to accidentals, B's music scribes were frequently inaccurate in notating their pitch, and may have occasionally omitted them altogether. Variants between Vg and B which cannot be attributed to scribal error may be explained by Alison Bullock's argument that, while the two shared an exemplar, additional material may have been available to Vg's scribe.

6: Manuscripts A and F-G

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Manuscript A

A (F-Pn 1584) and F-G (F-Pn 22545-22546) merit consideration together by their many similarities: while their relationship does not approach the closeness of Vg to B, numerous commentators have suggested that the two manuscripts shared common materials, if not a complete exemplar. In addition to this, they both contain text and music not appearing in previous manuscripts, and share a similar programme of illuminations.

A comparison of accidentals in A to those of its immediate predecessor Vg is less straightforward than that between Vg and C: while around twenty years separate the latter manuscripts, allowing for the development of Machaut's musical language and the composition of new works – and, perhaps, a greater familiarity of musicians with Machaut's oeuvre – comparatively little time appears to have passed between the compilation of Vg and that of A, a few years which would be unlikely to encompass a perceptible change in either the practice of notating accidentals or the reception of Machaut's music. However, a close study of A's accidentals might reveal slight differences – notational practices specific to the editor, scribe, or even to the composer; thus A might illustrate some of the variants acceptable in the notation of accidentals, even in sources so closely controlled as the Machaut manuscripts.

Manuscript A has long been thought to have close links with its composer, principally on the strength of the well-known incipit heading its index – *Vesci l'ordenance que .G. de machau wet qu'il ait en son livre* – but also through a strip of parchment attaching a bifolio at the end of gathering XLVI, on which are written the opening words of the *Loange* Ballade 94, *Il n'est dolour*. These are not in a neat

bookhand, nor are they laid out as poem; Earp has suggested that this could be the composer's draft, "placing MS A squarely in Machaut's workshop".¹ This raises the tantalising possibility that other variants specific to A might be traced directly to the composer. (François Avril identified the source of the *Prologue*'s illuminations as a Parisian atelier, between 1370-77; the two large paintings are the work of the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy. The artist of A's other paintings is not known from any other source; Avril speculated that he may have been working in Reims.)²

The inscription added to A's index (which is inserted on an unnumbered bifolio at the start of the manuscript) states that "this is the order that G. de Machaut wants for his book" – giving, as Earp has observed, "the impression that Machaut was trying definitively to order the works for MS A".³ However, the order of works in the manuscript does not correspond to that of the index in every detail; the index of *dits* was evidently altered, by the same scribe, even before the texts were copied. The order of the index appears, within the genres of the *formes fixes* at least, to be chronological; it seems likely that the index was intended as an instruction to the compiler. Discrepancies arose where the layout caused problems, since the scribe was sufficiently experienced to ensure that a work was not divided by a page turn; the possible effect of such alterations on vocal scoring is discussed below.

The manuscript also contains a number of works not appearing in any previous extant source: these are *Dame, se vous m'estes lonteinne* (B37) – Machaut's only monophonic ballade – and *Phyton le merveileus serpent* (B38); the rondeaux *Puis qu'en oubli* (R18), *Quant ma dame* (R19) and *Douce dame, tant com vivray* (R20); and the virelais *Moult sui de bonne heure nee* (V37) and *De tout sui si confortee* (V38).⁴ Alison Bullock has noted that "there are at least 4 correcting hands in [the music section of

¹ Earp 1983, 93. This in fact is the approach that Earp took in *Scribal Practice*, giving A as a template to which the other Machaut manuscripts are compared.

² François Avril: "...Le manuscrit A pourrait avoir été copié et enluminé à Reims même, sous la surveillance du poète, ce qui lui conférerait une valeur hors pair, que les éditeurs de Machaut avaient d'ailleurs depuis longtemps presentie." (1982, 126-7)

³ Ibid., 65

⁴ Bullock notes that one scribe added L22, B21, R9, R17 and possibly also V37 and V38 in the spaces left after the main copying had taken place (Bullock 1998, 103).

A]”, adding that the unusually notated “curly” #s found in Lais 5 and 6 and Motet 4 may have been added by one of these correctors.⁵

Since the scribe had already been given the running order in the form of the index, **A** was largely through-copied. Some of the narrative poems, however, together with the lai and motet sections, began new gatherings, as did the *Voir Dit* – perhaps because it was in a separate exemplar, being relatively new, or to enable the division of labour and painting of miniatures. Although grouped with other *dits*, the *Remede* was not included until the end of the index, with musical numbers listed by genre, first line and folio – perhaps as an authorial intervention to emphasise the work’s didactic purpose.

6.1.2 Manuscript F-G

F-G is so catalogued because it consists of two separate volumes: the long poems and lyrics, including the *Remede* plus its music, are in **F**, while all other music is in **G**. **G** was long thought – by Hoepffner, among others – to have been copied at the end of Machaut’s lifetime, in the mid to late 1370s, and this may be the case; however, Avril succeeded in identifying the painter of the manuscript’s one hundred and forty-eight illuminations as one Pierre Remiet working in Paris in the 1390s.⁶

A number of works were added to Machaut’s oeuvre between the copying of **A** and **G**: these were the ballades *Mes esperis se combat* (B39) and *Ma chiere dame* (B40), and R21, *Quant je ne voy ma dame* – for three voices, rather than **E**’s reading for two. No new virelais were added. **G** has no ‘alternative voices’, and no blank staves are included; even the early ballades must, therefore, have undergone some degree of revision or editing before **G** was copied. While **F-G** has a significant number of variants in common with **A**, the relationship between the two manuscripts is not clear-cut. Alison Bullock has suggested that **F-G** shared some exemplar material with **A**, notably that for *Se pour ce muir* (B36) and the Mass; however, readings of other late works, such as V37, differ between **A** and **G**. She argues that some of **G**’s source material consisted of

⁵ Ibid., 103 and 105n.

⁶ Avril 1982, 129; see also Camille 1996 on Remiet’s other works.

early drafts – with, possibly, more than one source being used for certain works – and observes that this approach sometimes led to confusion:

“Where other manuscripts have revisions or passages that have otherwise been problematic, **G**’s copy often seems like a combination of the difficulties encountered in those works.”⁷

6.1.3 Vocal scoring in A and F-G

Certain variants in vocal scoring may have resulted from scribal initiatives taken to avoid page-turns: *Doulz viaire gracieus* (R1) appears without its triplum (giving cantus and tenor only); an additional reading of *Tant doucement* (R9) is given, for cantus and tenor only, before R10; and *Se quanque amours* (B21) does not have its triplum.⁸ However, in the light of certain variants in B21 pointed out by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson and Alison Bullock,⁹ it is equally possible that these works existed in Machaut’s workshop in a number of versions – R9 for two or four voices, R1 for two or three, and B21 for three voices (with either triplum or contratenor) or four. Alison Bullock has suggested that, rather than a lack of space, A’s reduced scorings can be explained by Machaut’s compositional technique; in the case of R1, she argued that “the only possible explanation for the lack of triplum is that the composer decided that he disliked the texture where the cantus voice was masked by the upper voice.”¹⁰ In the case of B21, Bullock suggested that A’s Ca-T-Ct reading may have been copied at the wish of the composer, both to give a more up-to-date scoring, and because of difficulties encountered in composing for four voices.

⁷ Bullock 1998, 117. She further suggests that B30 was omitted for the reason that none of the readings available to **G**’s scribe was complete.

⁸ The differences in order between the index and the manuscript itself may well have been the scribe’s solution to problems of layout. B21 was appended, without its triplum, to the end of the section, since an entire opening was required for B22. (B20 fell on a recto, so if B21 had been copied on the following verso, there would have been insufficient space for B22 – after which the scribe apparently forgot to add B21 until he reached the end of the section; see Earp 1983, 68). R17 and the full four-part reading of R9 were copied on f.475 (verso and recto respectively), preceding the rondeau section ‘proper’ which began on f.476.

⁹ Bullock 1998, 69. Leech-Wilkinson: “*Se quanque amours* ... survives in three different versions, possibly all from the composer’s workshop, so that Machaut seems to have had difficulty in arriving at a definitive form for the piece.” – Sleeve-note for a Machaut recording by the Orlando Consort, *Dreams in the Pleasure Garden*, DG Archiv 457 618-2.

¹⁰ Bullock 1998, 111. Bullock has also noted that **G**’s triplum variants amount to another version of the voice, and perhaps arose from an early draft available to **G**’s scribe (ibid., 82-83).

Remarkably, **A** also includes the blank triplum staves for two early ballades, B7 and B11, which were found in **C**, **Vg** and **B**; this suggests that the exemplar for these ballades retained some of the features of their earliest extant appearance in **C**; and it will be seen that certain variants among accidentals continued to reflect this. This may have been because the variants were by this time well established, or had been overlooked during various revisions, and had been faithfully copied by subsequent scribes.

6.2 Accidentals in A and F-G

While it might initially seem preferable to examine **A**'s variants as a whole, and separately from **F-G**'s, the very large number common to both manuscripts suggests that a shared source formed the basis for these two manuscripts; an examination of these shared variants may therefore give some indication as to the nature of this material.

6.2.1 Cautionary accidentals

A relatively large number of cautionary accidentals is added to both **A** and **G** throughout the *formes fixes*. Even among the early ballades, which tend to reveal fewer variants than other groups, seven new cautionary accidentals appear; this is a much higher count than those unique to either manuscript. Numerous cautionary accidentals – more than twenty – also appear for the first time in the later ballades. In *Je suis aussi* (B20), for example, **A** and **G** add a precautionary ♭-b after #-c:

Ex. 6.1 *Je suis aussi* (B20), b.6-9

In *Se pour ce muir* (B36), ♭-b is added at an octave leap:

Ex. 6.2 *Se pour ce muir* (B36), b.16-17

Strikingly, nine such additions are made in B36: this piece, being the last in **Vg**'s ballade section, was presumably a relatively recent composition, and was included

in the *Voir Dit*. It is possible that, during the compilation of these materials, an early draft was all that was available to the scribe, who thus felt justified in making substantial additions: these were less concerned with economy of notation, as *Vg*'s had been, than with ensuring that the performers would not misinterpret inflections. It may be worth noting that the tonal centre of this work is B-flat, necessitating numerous additions of #-b, #-e, ♭-b and ♭-e and that B36 was evidently known outside the Machaut sources, as *E*'s tenor for this work – and *Toute Belle*'s comments – testify.¹¹ It is also notable that consistent signatures (such as *E* notates here) were evidently not, at this stage, seen as a solution to this problem. Three additional cautionary accidentals also appear in B31, perhaps due to the complexity of that work.

Among the rondeaux, a high number of accidentals is again shared by *A* and *G*: four of these appear in the four-part R10, with others in R8, R11, and R17. (This might be due to a slight degree of tonal instability: although R8, 10 and 17 have a tonal centre of C, their secondary tonal centres are less stable, perhaps necessitating the addition of numerous accidentals rather than signatures.) A similar number of accidentals is added in both sources to the virelais; these are almost exclusively simple cautionary accidentals, and include four in written-out repeated sections. The *Remede* adds just four cautionary accidentals to both these sources; although this is roughly proportionate for such a group of works, in other categories it will be seen that the *Remede* tends not to conform to expectations.

6.2.2 Links between manuscripts C, A and F-G

Despite the length of time separating the compilation of *C* and that of *A* – and the number of intervening drafts that may have existed – a significant group of variants

¹¹ “Et vous pri que vous me weilliez envoier des vostres. ie say bien que vous en avez fait de puis que ie noy nouveles de vous · car iay veu une balade en la quele il a · En lieu de bleu · dame vous vestez vert · et ie ne say pour qui vous la feistes.”

(“And I beg you please send some of your [poems]. I well know that you have made some since I last had news of you; since I have seen a balade in which is “In place of blue, lady, you wear green” [Balade 36] and I do not know for whom you made it.”) Leech-Wilkinson 1998, 586

links **C** with **A**, and subsequently with **G**, numerous examples occurring among the early ballades alone. For example, in *Amours me fait desirer* (B19) two cautionary accidentals are common to **C**, **A** and **G** [Ex. 6.3]; one of these, ‘ \flat -c’ (for \flat -b), is misplaced not only in **C**, but subsequently in both **A** and **G**:

Ex. 6.3 *Amours me fait desirer* (B19), b.29-34, tenor

In *Riches d’amour* (B5) and *Se je me plaing* (B15) two accidentals appear to have been edited out of **Vg** and **B**;¹² more variants shared between **C**, **A** and **G** can be found in ballades 17–24.¹³

In the rondeaux, two cautionary accidentals common to **C**, **A** and **G** are to be found in *Doulz viaire gracieus* (R1), despite **A**’s omission of the triplum; a third, \flat -e in b.20 of *Merci vous pri’s* tenor (R3) (b.20), appears only in **C** and **A**, but is noted here because these two sources directly contradict **Vg** and **B**’s #-e¹⁴ – emphasising the lingering influence of **C** on this considerably later manuscript. Among the virelais, nearly fifteen accidentals link **C** to **A** and **G** (though not all are identically notated in all three manuscripts); this high incidence may suggest that, subsequent to **C**’s compilation, the virelais underwent fewer revisions than other genres, possibly because they appear not to have been widely transmitted – or, perhaps, performed.

A particularly high concentration of accidentals common to **C**, **A** and **F-G** can be found in the *Remede*, with over ten occurring in this small group of works. *En amer* alone contains seven instances: at b.27 of the cantus, a cautionary # is added which did not appear in **Vg** or **B** [Ex. 6.4(a)]; nor does the cautionary # found in **C**, **A** and **F-G** in the tenor at b.15, appear in **VgB** (b):

Ex. 6.4 (a) *En amer*: cantus, b.23-28
 (b) Tenor, b.15-18

¹² See Ex. 5.6(a) and (b), 132 below

¹³ Very few accidentals are omitted from both **A** and **G** when they have previously appeared in **C**, **Vg** and **B**, though two such accidentals from the early ballades do not appear in **A** or **G**, while three are not present in **A** and **G**’s rondeaux; and a similar instance occurs in the virelai section. The *Remede* omits three accidentals in these sources – slightly more than might be expected in a group of only seven chansons, and perhaps indicating a different editorial policy for these works, or different sources.

¹⁴ See Ex. 5.11, 135

While **F**'s layout of *En amer* is unconventional, it is not as convoluted as that in **Vg**; these variants suggest that **A** and **F-G**'s readings of the *Remede* are linked not only to each other, but to **C**, while containing marked differences from **Vg** and **B**.¹⁵

6.2.3 Misplaced accidentals in **A** and **F-G**

Few 'misplaced' accidentals – those which are not positioned at exactly the same pitch as the note to be inflected – are common to both **A** and **F-G**, with only two to be found in the early ballades (though these works in fact contain very few misplacements in either source). Nor are such misplacements frequent in the later ballades: of four instances, two are found in *Se pour ce muir* (B36) and two in *Phyton le merveileus serpent* (B38) – suggesting that these works may have been recent compositions, available to the compiler in a less polished draft than the earlier ballades. Three instances occur among the rondeaux (two of these in *Comment puet on*, R11), while still fewer are to be found in the virelais; only two misplacements in the *Remede* are common to **A** and **F-G**. Thus one might conclude that not only did the separate scribes of **A** and **F-G** tend to be accurate, but that the material on which both were based was accurate – edited carefully, perhaps, because it was intended as an exemplar. This common material appears to have been liberal in adding cautionary accidentals; it also shared a significant number of variants with **C**. However, it should be noted that works whose *first* appearance is in **A** or **G** do not follow these trends, suggesting that they might have been appended to materials already edited.

¹⁵ While the (horizontal) positioning of an accidental appears to have been so commonly varied that it would be unwise to take it as an indication of connected sources, it may be worth noting that a number of instances occur among the early ballades and the *Remede*, in which **C**, **A** and **G** share one placing for an accidental, **Vg** and **B** another; however, there is no noticeable trend for pre-placing (or its opposite) in either group.

6.3 Accidentals unique to A

6.3.1 Cautionary accidentals

While many variants are common to A and G, there remains a significant group of accidentals unique to A. These are not evenly distributed through the *formes fixes*: for example, although only one such cautionary accidental appears in A in the early ballades – simply a clarification at a stave ending – ten appear to have been added to the remaining ballades *after* the divergence of A and G. (Two instances are found in the rondeaux – a number commensurate with a group of generally short works without written-out repetitions.) The virelais, however, incorporate a significant proportion of repeated material, and A adds another ten cautionary accidentals to these: half appear in repeated sections to reiterate inflections already notated. In the *Remede*, six cautionary accidentals are unique to A: these are split equally between *En amer* and *Dame de qui*, both of which are for four voices, suggesting that an editor (or even the composer) felt that performers might need more clarification in these pieces.

6.3.2 Accidentals not included in A

A small but not insignificant group of accidentals does not appear in A, despite being present in most or all other sources; these include many found consistently in C, Vg, B and G (though, often, not in E). Where an accidental is found in C, the earliest extant source, it is more likely that A did, at some stage after the divergence of A and F-G, omit it: however, where an accidental appears in Vg, B and G but not in A or C, the case is less clear-cut, since it may have originated in Vg's editing. The significance of this group, therefore, lies in the attention it draws to the relationship between Vg and F-G, which appears to bypass A – indicating that F-G had access to, or was influenced by, other sources in addition to A; this may in turn suggest that F-G was copied significantly later than A.

Among the early ballades, A omits twelve accidentals – a particularly high number in the light of the solitary accidental which A adds to this group. It could be suggested that an unusually thorough revision was made here – that those accidentals omitted were cautionary, and that their absence would not be sufficient to alter a reading; but such a cull of accidentals seems uncharacteristic of the manuscript as a whole. A similarly high number of accidentals is missing from the later ballades, again outnumbering A's unique additions; these omissions are of cautionary accidentals, occurring generally (in the other manuscripts) at cadential points or disjunct leaps. Five further instances occur in the rondeaux, and six in the virelais; once again, however, the *Remede* shows a slightly different approach, with only two examples – both ♭-e's in *Dame de qui*.

6.3.3 Misplaced accidentals

Among the early ballades, there are no misplaced accidentals unique to A. However, ten misplacements occur among the later ballades, all except one misplaced by one note (such as #-g for #-f); in the rondeaux, nine misplacements are unique to A – particularly high given the general brevity of the genre – with five among the virelais. Similarly, in the *Remede*, four misplaced accidentals are unique to A. Since this 'carelessness' is evidently not characteristic of the manuscript as a whole – being concentrated in certain sections – it is possible that it was the work of a particular scribe.

Given the lack of variants in the early ballades, it cannot be said that all of A's copying was inaccurate; at some point after the divergence of A and F-G, though, a scribe appears not only to have liberally added cautionary accidentals, but to have omitted an almost equal number, as well as inaccurately copying the pitch of certain sharps and flats. However, A's reading of the *Remede*'s music, while still adding numerous accidentals, omitted fewer than the other *formes fixes*; this may indicate, once again, that this work had a different scribe or a different exemplar.

6.4 Accidentals unique to F-G

6.4.1 Cautionary accidentals

F-G, like **A**, has its own groups of readings. Among the early ballades, three variant cautionary accidentals are notated, with a further four appearing in **C** and **G** only; this small number is comparable to the single accidental unique to **A** in this group. In ballades 17-40, five accidentals are marked only in **G** – fewer than the corresponding group in **A** – and an equal number is added to the rondeaux; again, this is not far removed from **A**. Among the virelais, fourteen accidentals were added by **G** alone; surprisingly, though, these are split equally between V1-36 and V37 and 38; the latter two works, both for two voices, appearing only in **A** and **G**. Since these may have been among the last works composed, it is possible that V37 and 38 were copied not from an exemplar but from a draft available to **G**'s scribe – as, indeed, may other variants readings found in this manuscript.

Apart from V37 and 38, the number of cautionary accidentals which **G** adds to the virelais is comparable to **A**. Bullock has suggested that, since the accidentals in **G**'s written-out repeats are similarly placed each time, **G**'s exemplar was not written out; rather, the scribe inserted the repetitions himself; this would suggest that **G** was copied from drafts and fascicles rather than an organised complete exemplar.¹⁶ This group also contains two apparently superfluous accidentals; however, it is possible that one of these, in b.6 of *Dou mal qui m'a longuement* (V8), might have been intended as an aid to solmization [**Ex. 6.5**] – an unusual occurrence in Machaut's manuscripts, though it may also have been retained in error from a signature flat in an exemplar:

Ex. 6.5 *Dou mal qui m'a longuement* (V8), b.3-10

¹⁶ Bullock 1998, 115

Four cautionary accidentals are added to the music of the *Remede* in **G**; however, one of these, in *Dame mon cuer*, causes contrapuntal problems, and may have been added in the context of a single line vocal line, rather than the work as a whole. A contratenor accidental in *En amer* [Ex. 6.6] appears to suggest a highly unusual interpretation: a \flat -g is notated, in a place where the inflection F-sharp is strongly implied by the notated triplum \sharp -f in the same bar:

Ex. 6.6 *En amer*, b.27-28/ 31-32
 clos ending in F

Since this apparent usage is found only once in the Machaut manuscripts, it may be more probable that this was a misreading of a poorly notated \sharp -f in **G**'s exemplar.¹⁷

6.4.2 Accidentals not included in F-G

Like **A**, **F-G** does not notate a number of accidentals which do appear in **A**, **C** and **VgB**. In general, however, fewer accidentals are missing from **G**'s reading of B1-16 than from **A**'s – seven, rather than twelve; and the same situation is found in the later ballades, since where **A** omitted sixteen accidentals, only half as many are missing from **G**. In the rondeaux, seven accidentals are omitted, a number slightly higher than **A**'s omissions: however, two of these are accidentals missing from *Puis qu'en oubli* (R18) – a work which appears only in manuscripts **A**, **G** and **E** – as Ex. 6.7 illustrates:

Ex. 6.7 *Puis qu'en oubli* (R18), b.1-4, **A** and **G**

Such omission of accidentals is uncharacteristic of **G**, and it is possible that R18 was derived from an early draft which was not the source for **A**'s or **E**'s readings; **G**'s contratenor clef is notated differently, as is the ligature in b.3 of **G**'s tenor. The number of accidentals 'omitted' by **F-G** from the *Remede*, however, is comparable to those missing from **A**.

¹⁷ See Ex. 7.4 (a), 175 below

6.4.3 Positioning of accidentals in F-G

While it has already been noted that the positioning of an accidental was the aspect of notation least likely to be retained from one source to another, one of G's idiosyncrasies should be pointed out: at a change of stave, an accidental might be written at the end of the 'old' stave even though the note to be inflected occurred on the new one. It is possible that this was intended as an early warning to the singer; it does not occur deliberately in any other Machaut manuscript, and is rare even among repertory sources. Two instances occur in G's early ballades, one illustrated in **Ex. 6.8**:

Ex. 6.8 *Doulz amis* (B6), cantus, b.15-16

Perhaps surprisingly, no such examples are to be found among the later ballades (which otherwise contain numerous variants), although three occur in the rondeaux; of three instances in the virelais, two are flats at 'section signatures' (↓), or final cues indicating another repeated section, so might more accurately be regarded as signatures; and two instances are found in the *Remede*.

6.4.4 Misplaced accidentals

Very few misplacements are unique to G among the ballades as a whole, and considerably fewer than are unique to A, indicating an impressive level of accuracy on the part of the scribe. By contrast, there are nine misplaced accidentals in the rondeaux, similar to A (three occur in R11 alone); this may have been down to the practice of a particular scribe, or possibly to a change in the exemplar. The notation of accidentals in the virelais is more accurate, with only one misplacement. However, the *Remede* in F contains as many as twenty misplaced accidentals: since this work is also in a different volume from the rest of the music, it is probable that this was the work of another music scribe, or copied from another exemplar.

6.4.5 Anomalies in F-G

A number of odd accidentals – superfluous, apparently wrong or otherwise anomalous – are to be found in **G**. In B11 [Ex. 6.9], a #-b is given at the beginning of a new stave:

Ex. 6.9 *Ne 'en fait, n'en dit* (B11), tenor, b.11-13

This appears to have been a mistaken duplication of #-c in the previous bar, at the end of the previous stave: while this may be linked to **G**'s sometimes eccentric positioning of accidentals, discussed above, it here confuses the expected F-natural/ B-flat solmization.¹⁸

Accidentals can also be found in *De fortune* (B23) and *Quant Theseus* (B34) [Ex. 6.10(a) and (b)] which are apparently superfluous since no note of the indicated pitch occurs before the next accidental or the end of the section:

Ex. 6.10 (a) *De fortune* (B23), tenor, b.26-32
 (b) *Quant Theseus* (B34), tenor, b.34-37

While it might be suggested that these were solmization signs, the ♭-b in B23 (tenor, b.26) seems more likely to have been a scribal error, or perhaps wrongly placed; it is unlikely to have arisen through a mistake in copying from a short score, since a ♭ is unlikely to have been notated in the cantus; it may be possible that the # in B34's tenor was the result of short-score copying (since in **G** the tenor follows *Ne quier veoir*), but it could as easily be a scribal error. Lastly, in the cantus of R12, a ♭-b and #-f are notated together in b.6 as follows: ↓AG ♭ #-f F; while perfectly valid, it is an unusual juxtaposition, particularly in a manuscript of this date (though similar examples can be found in **C**, and in **Vg**'s reading of Lai 6).

¹⁸ It seems unlikely that this accidental could have been copied from a draft in short score, since the tenor at this point is using the *molle* hexachord.

The notation of accidentals in manuscript **F-G** might be characterised as generally accurate, with a tendency to duplicate those that appeared in preceding sources; its occasional inaccuracies or quirks might perhaps be attributed to particular scribes. In certain places, accidentals are given that had been notated in **Vg** and **B** but not in **A**; this agrees with the possibility suggested by Alison Bullock that **F-G** had access to materials not used in the compilation of **A**.

6.5 Signatures in **A** and **G**

A comparison of signatures in manuscripts **A** and **G** is not entirely straightforward, since, where **A** is conventionally copied with staves extending across the width of the page, **G**'s music is laid out in two columns. It is further complicated by the fact that, apart from the opening signature of a voice, the stave-ends tend to fall at different points in different sources; thus, only general trends or obvious variants can be readily singled out, and only a small number of signature variants can be seen to be common to both sources.

Broadly speaking, the use of signatures is similar in **A** and **G**, following a similar practice to **Vg**'s – that is, signatures are notated only when practical, and where few cancellations would be necessary; occasionally, an accidental falling near the start of a stave is positioned as a signature for the sake of a tidy appearance, as in **Vg**. This contrasts with **C**'s regular addition of signatures, unique among the Machaut manuscripts. Given that **Vg**'s editorial policy is notably different in other respects from that of **A** and **G**, it is probable that this reflected general trends, and was not specific to the Machaut manuscripts.

In the most notable of these variants, **A** replaces the signatures of other Machaut sources with accidentals. An example occurs in both **A** and **G**, in *Helas! tant ay dolour* (B2) [Ex. 6.11], where the tenor signature of (B2) is replaced in **A** and **G** by an accidental in the second bar:

Ex. 6.11 *Helas! tant ay dolour* (B2), b.1-3

More examples are unique to **A**: in *Il m'est avis* (B22), the cantus signature found in **C**, **G** and **E** (and, later, in **PR**) is replaced in **A** by an accidental in b.2; and in the contratenor of B33, the signature found in **Vg**, **B** and **G** is in **A** converted into an accidental. Further instances are also to be found in the virelais. Elsewhere, **A** shows a tendency not to notate signatures found in other sources, as in the tenor of B25, the contratenor of B33 – in which **Vg**, **B** and **G** have a signature but **A** substitutes an accidental – and most noticeably in B36.¹⁹

Despite its layout of two columns per page, **G**'s treatment of signatures remains in most respects close to **A**'s. However, exceptions can be found in among the later ballades, rondeaux and virelais – possibly because the practice of notating signatures had not at that stage become formalised, and the degree of overlap between accidentals and signatures varied from one scribe to another – and particularly among the virelais. A significant number of these, notated in the other Machaut sources with relatively consistent signatures, appear in **G** with a signature notated only for the first stave: these are V4, 5, 9, 12, 23, 25, 30 and the *Remede*'s *Dame a vous*. All have tonal centres which would allow the use of a signature – their modal equivalents might be 'D-Dorian' or 'G-Dorian' and 'F-Lydian', though of course these are distorted by *contrapunctus* progressions. Thus, even if the \downarrow_b was not intended to be interpreted as consistently as a modern signature, but more as warning to the performer that B might need to be sung as *fa*, it appears to have been sufficient to elicit the correct inflections from the singer. It may have been felt that this was adequate for a monophonic work, where other voices would not complicate matters with their own, different inflections.

¹⁹ Signatures are notated in B36 as follows:

Cantus \downarrow_b -b in **VgB A G E**

Contratenor \downarrow_b -b in **VgB G**, \downarrow_b -b + \flat -e in **E**, no signature in **A**

Tenor \downarrow_b -b in **G**, \downarrow_b -b + \flat -e in **E**, no signature in **A** or **VgB**

In other words, the highest concentration of signatures notated in this work is found in **G** and **E**, the lowest in **A**.

6.6 Accidentals in A and F-G – a summary

The shared variants in these two manuscripts indicate that they were based on common materials: however, subsequent differing scribal practices, affected by the nature of available exemplars, can be clearly discerned. **A**, as suggested both by its index and its binding materials, appears to have had close links to Machaut's workshop, lending authority to its readings; however, a high degree of scribal initiative is indicated by the differences in order from the index, the sometimes idiosyncratic notation of accidentals, and perhaps by the scoring of R1, R9 and B21. While the inclusion here of these alternative readings may indicate that these songs existed in more than one version – if only in the composer's workshop – their positions in the manuscript may suggest that the scribe had some difficulties arranging their layout. (For instance, the four-voice version of R9 appears to have been added after the rondeau section – which contains the two-voice reading – had been copied.)

The notation of accidentals in **A** and **F-G** might be seen as a process of accumulation: first, the material from which both manuscripts were drawn added a number of cautionary accidentals, while evidently omitting very few; in particular, accidentals previously found in **C** tended to be retained here. The music of the *Remede* did not follow these patterns so closely, though both it and the virelai section preserved readings which were particularly close to **C**'s. When this material was compiled for manuscript **A** (together with the works that had appeared first in **VgB**, and the few works first seen in **A**), the editor appears to have added a large number of cautionary accidentals, particularly to the later ballades and to the written repeats in the virelais; however, an equally large number appears to have been omitted where they had appeared in earlier Machaut sources; and in addition to this, the vertical positioning of accidentals was not always accurate. **A**'s notation of accidentals is, overall, much closer to that of **C**, some twenty years old by that time, than to the much more recently compiled **Vg** – emphasising **Vg**'s different, and more rigorous, approach.

While less can be inferred about the circumstances of **F-G**'s copying, its editor clearly had access to works which Machaut had not previously anthologised, and possibly to more than one source for certain works; Alison Bullock has speculated that some material available to **Vg** (but not **B**) later contributed to **G**.²⁰ In comparison to **A**, **F-G** tended to add fewer cautionary accidentals, and far fewer were omitted. However, the *Remede* departed from the scribal practices of the ballades and rondeaux, as numerous accidentals were misplaced, and rather more cautionary accidentals were added. V37 and V38, which first appeared in **A** and **G**, also added numerous cautionary accidentals, suggesting a separate exemplar for these works; a further peculiarity of **G**'s virelais was their tendency to notate signatures only for the first stave, where one was implied throughout the work. While some of its scribal habits are unusual, **F-G** is generally no less reliable in its notation of accidentals than other sources, even if, as its illustrations suggest, it may have been copied after Machaut's death.

²⁰ Bullock 1998, 115-117

7: Manuscript E

7.1 Introduction

Of all the Machaut manuscripts, **E** has proved the most elusive. Its readings of many pieces differ significantly from those of the other Machaut manuscripts, particularly in their accidentals: moreover, for a few chansons, additional voices are transmitted which are not found in **Vg**, **B**, **C**, **A** or **F-G**, but which occasionally appear in later repertory manuscripts.¹ Opinions on **E**'s provenance, and its first owner, are divided, so it is simpler to begin with what is known about the manuscript: soon after its creation, it belonged to Jean, Duc de Berry – the flyleaf was inscribed to that effect by his secretary Jean Flamel² – and it was listed in an inventory of Jean's library taken in 1402.³ The illuminations have been dated by François Avril to c1390,⁴ though this does not necessarily provide a firm date for music and text, which need not have been copied at that time: both appear to have had numerous exemplars, with variants encompassing not only minor differences but new voices added to known works, voices omitted, and two complete *lais* which appear in no other manuscript.

Early studies of the manuscript gave conflicting accounts of its sources. Machaut's first modern editors dealt solely with text variants: Hoepffner suggested an indirect relationship between **E** and **Vg/B**, but with no other Machaut manuscript; Chichmaref, however, regarded **C** as being the manuscript most closely related to **E**.⁵ This was also the opinion of Wolfgang Dömling (writing in 1969), who noted the

¹ **E**'s triplum to *De toutes flours* (B31) appears in the Reina Codex (**PR**), which also contains **E**'s contratenor to *De fortune me doy plaindre* (B23): suggested dates for the French secular repertoire in **PR** vary between c.1390 and c.1400. John Nádas provided a thorough survey of Reina chronology in his dissertation: see Nádas 1985 and 1987.

² As Margaret Bent has noted, "There does remain some doubt as to whether **E** was actually prepared for, rather than subsequently acquired by, the Duke. The inscription by Berry's librarian Flamel is on a separate bifolio of different quality parchment from the body of the manuscript; the manuscript is decorated with ermine tails but not with the Berry shield". (Bent 1983, 73).

³ Ludwig 1926-1943, 2:11a

⁴ Avril 1982, 128

⁵ Hoepffner 1908; Chichmaref 1909.

similarities between **E**'s and **C**'s readings of the *Remede de Fortune*, though he found that in other respects **E** reflected the variants found in repertory manuscripts.⁶

The inconsistency of **E**'s readings argues against the use of a single exemplar: Margaret Bent has commented on **E**'s links with the earlier Machaut manuscript **B**, and other unidentified sources, in her article on the relationship between **Vg**, **B** and **E**.⁷ **B** itself has been the source of some confusion since Ludwig first suggested that it was a fifteenth-century copy of **Vg**;⁸ it was not until 1976, when Elizabeth Keitel found that only the outer few bifolia dated from the fifteenth century (being, presumably, replacements for pages that had become worn) that **B**'s close relationship to **Vg** became clear.⁹ **B** is now widely regarded as a copy of **Vg** made shortly after the latter was copied in the early 1370s,¹⁰ intended as an exemplar rather than for performance, and perhaps, given its numerous errors, copied in a hurry as Earp suggested.¹¹ In fact, he went so far as to say that:

“... in **B**, Machaut's fears [voiced in the *Voir Dit*] for the integrity of this highest level of his manuscript tradition were realised.”¹²

In her article, Bent noted that a large proportion of the chansons in **E** appear to have been copied from **B**: not only did these works give a reasonably accurate copy of the reading found in **Vg**, they reproduced the scribal errors found in **B** (such as the omission of a clef, or the reversal of a rhythmic pattern). Bent examined in particular *De bonté, de valour* (V10), and the ballades *Dame ne regardes pas* (B9) and *Donnez seigneurs* (B26), making a number of important general observations; however, the article was less a detailed survey than a call for a closer study of **E**'s sources.

Following the reasoning of Bent's article, Earp proposed a scenario in which a

⁶ Dömling 1969

⁷ Bent 1985

⁸ Ludwig 1911, 408-409

⁹ Keitel, “The importance of Machaut's paper manuscript (Bib. Nat. F.fr.1585)”; paper read at AMS meeting 1976 and cited in Bent 1985, 54.

¹⁰ Earp suggested that **Vg** was illustrated c.1371-75 – though copying may have begun in the late 1360s – and that **B** was copied c.1370-72 (Earp 1989, 474).

¹¹ However, as noted above (127), **B**'s reading of the *Prise d'Alexandrie* is more inclusive than **Vg**'s.

¹² Earp 1989, 479

complete Machaut manuscript was commissioned, probably by the Duc de Berry;¹³ B was available as an exemplar, but was known to be incomplete, so “copies of certain smaller works not contained in B ... were available, grouped either in small fascicle manuscripts, or, in the case of musical works, perhaps in individual copies or rotuli.”¹⁴

To explain why it was not only the very latest works, such as *Phyton le mervilleus serpent* (B38), *Mes esperis se combat* (B39) and *Ma chiere dame* (B40) that were copied from separate sources – works not included in B, and possibly composed after its completion – Earp suggested that those works not copied from B “represent the repertory initially available to the scribe of E, the Machaut pieces then popular at the court. When a more recent redaction of this or that work was available, it was incorporated into the new manuscript”;¹⁵ others have agreed that, for certain parts of the manuscript, more than one source was available. Bent also raised the possibility of “authorial intervention”:

“...The impression that the scribe of E had access to someone who was able to take strong initiatives with the textual and musical substance of works ascribed to Machaut should give us cause to ask whether the authority for such lines, versions, unique pieces and voices, titles, order and methods of presentation might not derive from the composer, even if implemented after his death ...The way in which E was assembled may have extended its period of compilation over several years prior to illumination, thus bridging the gap between B and E to a point perhaps still during Machaut’s lifetime.”¹⁶

To these possibilities, Reinhard Strohm added a view of E as a link to the repertory tradition and the spread of Machaut’s works outside France: in an article examining fragments of a late fourteenth-century repertory manuscript containing Machaut’s *Se vous n’estes* (R7) he suggested a later date than Avril, Earp or Bent – “[E] was copied for Duke Jean de Berry c.1400, perhaps from a Machaut ms existing in Flanders”¹⁷ – without giving any details of possible transmission patterns, though he added that the Ghent fragment represents an intermediate stage of North European transmission between E and later, mainly Italian, repertory manuscripts. However, recent work on the

¹³ Machaut was associated with the court of Jean Duc de Berry from c1360 until his death, and dedicated *Le dit de la fonteinne amoureuse* to Jean (Earp 1995, 191).

¹⁴ Earp 1983, 124

¹⁵ Ibid., 125

¹⁶ Bent 1985, 74-75

¹⁷ Strohm 1984, 116

sources of **E** has lent weight to Bent's view that the variants and extra voices had an authorial source: both Bullock and Leach have suggested that these 'alternative versions' stemmed from Machaut's early drafts which had escaped the close guard that the composer habitually kept on his work, perhaps coming into circulation after his death.¹⁸ Leach has made a detailed study of these additional voices, analysing their relationship to the Cantus-Tenor contrapuntal framework:

"The success of an added contratenor depends on the inherent nature of the pre-existing two-part piece. Whilst tripla can always create directed space because they are, in pitch, above the texture of the other two voices the contratenor's normative placement, between cantus and tenor, means that success depends upon the spacing of the T-Ca duet, especially at cadence points and structural section ends.... This analysis has interesting (if negative) implications for the assumptions about the authorship of these contratenors in that their competence or otherwise is not necessarily a reliable gauge of the likelihood that Machaut wrote them. Any problems in B4 or B20 are only the composer's fault in that he chose an unsuitable two-part piece to which to add a contratenor."¹⁹

7.2 Scribal Practice and Scribal Interference

Earp devoted a section of his dissertation to explaining scribal error, and the separation of "purely mechanical errors (unintentional changes) from deliberate alteration of the copy (intentional changes)."²⁰ These two groups were categorised as:

"(1) mechanical copying errors ... ranging from small oversights to large omissions, and (2) variants that have to do with notational problems... Variants appearing in the second category ... may include "accidental" differences, that is, matters that according to the contemporary thinking would not have materially changed the text, and matters of notation that reflect regional or modernizing tendencies."²¹

¹⁸ Leach also discusses **E**'s multiple sources for texts of single works: "It seems that **E**'s exemplars are from early in the story of transmissions, their readings close to **C**, the repertory manuscripts (of which **PR** and **Ch** in particular seem to represent an early text tradition) or, should the song not occur in **C**, to **A**." (Leach 1997, 47).

¹⁹ Ibid., 326-7

²⁰ Earp 1983, 295

²¹ Ibid., 300

Applied to inflections and their notation, this second group could be further divided along the lines proposed by Karol Berger into ‘conventional’ and ‘unconventional’ accidentals – the former being those obeying the rules of *contrapunctus* (whether due to vertical correction of diminished intervals or to standard directed progressions), the latter being inflections which would not be sung if accidentals were not notated.²² Conventional inflections, which Berger also described as “non-authorial”, were essential to the *contrapunctus* progressions detailed in Chapter II, while unconventional inflections were used in those techniques described in Chapter III. It is the accidentals in these latter cases that might be thought most vulnerable to scribal intervention – the effects of which would be more significant in repertory sources than in the narrowly-controlled Machaut manuscripts.

For instance, one might expect accidentals in unconventional progressions to be omitted in a repertory manuscript, since they were specific to Machaut’s musical language, rather than a widely used technique; in addition, the concentration of directed progressions found in his music was no longer part of the general musical language in the last decade of the fourteenth century. Accidentals in unconventional melodic lines, or those indicating cross-resolutions, might have been similarly vulnerable: to a copyist, they might look incorrect in the context of a single melodic line. This is not to say that E’s scribe would have been single-handedly responsible for all such variants: on the contrary, the evidence seems to show that he made very few changes. Bent was of the opinion that this scribe was a careful copyist who “almost never supplied ficta signs not present in his exemplar”, though with a habit of copying preplaced accidentals at the ‘wrong’ pitch;²³ for example, to sharpen an F, this scribe might write #-a a G F rather than the standard #-f a G F (see Ex. 7.10 below). Earp disagreed: his opinion was that the scribe was responsible for other alterations – both small-scale, such as differences of

²² Berger 1987, 174

²³ Bent 1985, 71

rhythmic notation in some monophonic works, and more fundamental, such as the *lais*' rearranged layout.²⁴

Alison Bullock's recent work again supports Bent rather than Earp in this matter, citing the close relationship between **B** and **E** to show that **E**'s scribe must, at least in a large proportion of the manuscript, have copied his exemplar faithfully. If this is indeed the case, it can only strengthen the argument that **E**'s sources were unusually disparate. Leach, however, argued that **E**'s scribe actively omitted certain accidentals from **B**, namely those that were "conventional", and thus aligned **E** with repertory sources in their sometimes sporadic notation of accidentals:

"Even when copying from **B**, **E** omits certain accidentals because they are just that – accidental – the singer would know what to do with or without them. **E** seems to be closer to a performing tradition (whether Machaut's in the early century or Jean [Duc de Berry]'s in the 1390s) than the other complete sources and frequently agrees in its sparse signing with the repertory manuscripts which are non-literary (specifically and solely musical) in their content. The Machaut manuscripts are to a certain extent 'over-signed' and singers would additionally have known the music they were singing, rendering large numbers of accidental inflections superfluous."²⁵

While it is certainly true that some of **E**'s readings share characteristics, and even specific variants, with repertory readings of Machaut's chansons, it is debatable whether missing accidentals were omitted consciously rather than in the course of what may have been a hurried and occasionally careless copying process; in the following sections of this chapter I hope to show that **E** tended to copy exactly, rather than edit exemplar material. As to the question of 'over-signing', it may well be true that singers at the Duc de Berry's court were familiar with Machaut's music, and that Machaut manuscripts **C** and **Vg** do occasionally appear to notate a profusion of accidentals. However, they are not alone in this: repertory sources – both Italian sources such as **ModA**, and earlier

²⁴ Earp even suggested that the unique *lais* in **E** may have been this scribe's work: "The different layout on the pages and the intelligence displayed in simplifying and embellishing the stereotyped melodic elements of the Machaut *lais* in **E** presupposes some skill on the part of the revisor... Anyone with the ability to recast the page disposition and melodic characteristics of Machaut's *lais* would necessarily be keenly aware of their ... properties. Perhaps the same person could have written new *lais* involving the innovative sectional combinations necessary for the performance of the two polyphonic *lais*." (Earp 1983, 322 and 326). Alison Bullock has speculated that, since some of **C**'s *lais* were arranged in a similar fashion, it might be that those to which Earp referred were derived from Machaut's early material (Bullock 1998, 141).

²⁵ Leach 1997, 85n20

Low Countries manuscripts such as **Tg** and **Utr** – frequently notate as many accidentals as **C** or **Vg** do, while **FP** gives an unprecedented number of manuscript accidentals in its notation of **Honte, paour** (B25); this is discussed in the following chapter.

7.3 The *Formes Fixes* in Manuscript E

7.3.1 The Ballades

The notation of accidentals in **E** cannot but be affected by the manuscript's disparate sources: the possibility that **E**'s music scribe copied his exemplars more or less faithfully (if not always accurately) can give a further insight into the type of sources available. Ballades 1, 2, 5-11, 14, 24 and 26 all show signs of having been copied directly from **B** – to the extent, in some cases, of containing identical scribal errors. In *J'aim mieus languir* (B7), **B** omits a clef, effectively writing the notes of the cantus from b.9-13 (the end of **B**'s stave) a third too low; this is reproduced in **E**, down to the point at which the correct pitch is resumed, even though **E**'s new stave does not begin at that point. (This supports the view that **E**'s scribe tended to copy note for note; an editing scribe would surely have corrected this.) An analogous mistake is copied from **B** to **E** in *Dame ne regardes pas* (B9); and in *Ne penses pas* (B10), where **B**'s cantus omits b.14-16 – that is, up to the end of the stave – the same passage is missed out of **E** (though, here too, its staves do not coincide with those of **B**). Likewise, the tenor of *Je ne cuit pas* (B14) omits b.27 in both **B** and **E**; the original omission in **B** may well have occurred because b.27 is an exact repetition of the previous bar. In this ballade **B** and **E** also share rhythmic variants at b.17 and b.21, the *ouvert* and *clos* bars. Similarly, *S'amours ne fait* (B1), *Helas tant ay dolour* (B2), *Riches d'amour* (B5), *Doulz amis* (B6), *De desconfort* (B8) and *N'en fait, n'en dit* (B11) all share with **B** variants such as the presence and position of accidentals, clefs and ligatures.

The ballades mentioned so far – those apparently copied from **B** – could be grouped together as ‘early’ in style as well as in Machaut’s order: they have only two voices, and many of them have final cadences on a fifth rather than an octave. In addition, two ballades with higher numbers also appear to have been copied from **B**: those are *Tres douce dame* (B24) and *Donnez seigneurs* (B26). **E**’s reading of B24 has a number of variants of pitch and rhythm in common with **B**, and, despite its relatively high number in Machaut’s ordering, is ‘early’ in style – it is for two voices, and its final cadence is at a fifth; its musical language also is simpler than that of the surrounding B23 and B25. For that reason, it may not have attracted enough attention at the end of the century to be part of the performed repertoire; thus **E**’s scribe would not have been able to find an individual copy to hand, and would have had to resort to **B** as an exemplar.

The case of *Donnez seigneurs* (B26) is rather different. It shares enough rhythmic and pitch variants with **B** to make the relationship a direct one, while the readings in **C**, **A** and **G** form a separate group; this was examined by Wulf Arlt, and also formed the subject of a study by Alison Bullock.²⁶ However, unlike the other ballades that **E** appears to have taken from **B**, B26 is for three voices and is clearly in a later style, sharing melodic and rhythmic motifs with other works of the 1350s such as *Une vipere en cuer* (B27) or the rondeau *Dame mon cuer* from the *Remede de Fortune*. In this case its transmission may have been restricted for historical reasons, since its text deals with the Treaty of Bretigny, signed in 1360: *Donnez seigneurs, donnez a toutes mains* is, effectively, an appeal for funds to meet the ransom with which France was faced as a result. Being so firmly attached to an occasion thirty years ago, it may have been less popular with singers, or patrons, than chansons dealing with the more adaptable subject of courtly love; if, for that reason, it was not in general circulation, it would, like B24, have had to be copied from **B**.

Occasionally the small number of differences between **E** and **B** suggests a relationship that is close, but perhaps not direct. In *Pour ce que tous mes chans fais*

²⁶ Arlt 1993; Bullock, paper given at a Machaut Study Day, King’s College, London, 11th February 1995.

(B12), for instance, the few variants in **E** are largely omissions of cautionary accidentals, so that the inflections notated in **B** are implied in **E**. This may suggest either a source between **B** and **E** in which limited alterations were made, or some editing by **E**'s scribe – though, given this scribe's apparent tendency to copy without emendations, the former may seem more likely. Similar variants are to be found in B13 and B15; all three may be linked with **B**, rather than a later or less central source, by virtue of their 'early' style: in their two-part texture, harmonic language and rhythms, they are similar to those ballades directly copied from **B**. This extends to *Dame, comment* (B16): though there are simply not enough variants, in **E**, to establish its provenance, its 'old-fashioned' and sometimes motet-like rhythms, and relatively slow-moving tenor, place it among Machaut's early works; and style seems to have been a determining factor in the process of **E**'s compilation. This accords with Earp's theory that **E**'s scribe copied first those works immediately available to him – that is, those that still formed part of the repertory; he then copied from **B** those works that had not been available, since they were not performed at the Berry court – that is, the early ballades, which were in a style that had become unfashionable by the 1390s.

One apparent exception to this neat correspondence of style and source is *Pas de tor en thies pais* (B30): rather than being 'early' in style, its use of directed progressions is characteristic of some of Machaut's later ballades – recalling, in particular, the last-numbered ballades B39 and 40, which are less 'progressive' in their musical language than those (such as the *Voir Dit* chansons) composed in the early 1360s.²⁷ While not an exact reproduction of **B**'s reading of B30, **E**'s does share a number of variants with **B** alone;²⁸ it may also be possible that **E** had access to more than one version of this ballade.²⁹

²⁷ It is possible that B39 and B40 were in fact composed earlier than B31-36, but were placed at the end of the ballade section in **G** simply because they had not been available during the compilation of previous manuscripts.

²⁸ An example is the tenor ligature at b.33, which in both these manuscripts reads *A-B-G*, rather than the *A-B-A* found elsewhere.

²⁹ Alison Bullock had also suggested that this was the case for V29 and for the Mass (Bullock 1998).

This gives a group of ballades apparently taken from **B**: 1, 2, 5-16, 24, 26 and possibly B30, united (with the exceptions of B26 and B30) by a common, ‘early’ style which seems to have fallen out of favour by the last decade of the century. However, *On ne porroit penser* (B3) and *Biaute qui toutes autres pere* (B4) clearly were in circulation, and may have been at least partly copied from repertory sources, since the contratenors appear in no other Machaut manuscript. Bent stated a quite definite view of their sources:

“In all the cases where **E** preserves extra triplum or contratenor parts that are not in **B**, the entire piece, not just the additional part, derives from a source other than **B**.”³⁰

E’s cantus and tenor parts readings for B3, though, are similar enough to **B** to suggest at least a connection: at b.7 of the cantus, for example, **Vg**, **B** and **E** have one rhythm while the other Machaut manuscripts have the reverse:

Ex. 7.1 *On ne porroit penser* (B3), tenor, b.7
variants in **VgB/E** and **CAG**

The contratenor, of which the first eight breves are missing, did not appear in **B**, which makes it at least improbable that the other parts came from that source; however, the readings of cantus and tenor appear to be from a source close to **B**. This could suggest that the piece had not been copied and recopied many times, giving scribes fewer opportunities to alter any aspect of the music, inadvertently or otherwise – which might, in turn, indicate that B3 was not very widely known or performed; alternatively, **E**’s scribe may have had access to more than one source, as Leach has suggested.³¹ Despite the existence of the partial contratenor, it is still a recognisably early work compared to

³⁰ Bent 1985, 70

³¹ Leach: “Perhaps, as is the case in **Vg**’s copy of *Pleures dames* (B32) the scribe originally planned to start the contratenor on a new line, but subsequently began filling it in immediately after the tenor had finished, before the ‘contratenor’ label which had already been filled in on the next line. If **E** had access to such a source it is possible that the scribe erroneously began copying the contratenor from its labelled beginning and not from its *actual* beginning. This would be more likely if the scribes of **E** only desire the contratenor part from that particular source. Even aside from the section of the part which is actually missing, the contratenor as a whole is both contrapuntally and motivically unsatisfactory” (Leach 1997, 308). However, as Leach has argued elsewhere, the ‘unsatisfactory’ nature of the contratenor would not necessarily preclude its being Machaut’s work.

those ballades that were copied into repertory manuscripts such as the Reina or Chantilly codices.

In contrast, B4 shows every sign of having been copied entirely from a repertory source: not only are there no obvious points of resemblance between the cantus and tenor of **B** and **E**, but **E**'s tenor has been given mensuration signs – not an addition to be found in the chansons copied from **B**. The reason for B4's continued place in the repertoire is not hard to suggest: given its unusually chromatic nature and easily memorable cantus melody (the sequence in b.18-21, for instance), a singer or composer – possibly Machaut himself – may well have wanted to make the piece appeal to late fourteenth-century tastes by adding a third voice. (B4 has survived in two repertory sources, **Utr** and the palimpsest **SL**.)³²

The counterpoint created by the addition of the contratenor, of a similar style in both these ballades, gives what is perhaps a 'fifteenth-century' slant to this essentially fourteenth-century music – since, necessarily, the addition of a third voice also creates many more thirds and sixths, characteristic of this later style. For example, in the following passage the added contratenor creates a progression that suggests a succession of root position triads:³³

Ex. 7.2 *Biaute qui toutes autres pere* (B4), b.2-4

The style of this alteration has a good deal in common with that of another composer associated with the Duc de Berry's court: Solage, particularly in his chansons for public occasions, wrote in a style that combined fourteenth-century traits, such as double leading-note cadences, with the less chromatic sound that took hold in the fifteenth century. Solage's contratenor lines also share a number of characteristics with Machaut's, such as their frequent crossing of the tenor and other voices, or large melodic leaps.

³² See 206, below

³³ Leach has referred to B4's contratenor as a "successful" addition: the directed progressions of its cantus and tenor end to resolve onto fifths rather than unisons, giving the contratenor part greater scope for movement (Leach 1997).

The same is true of *Une vipere en cuer* (B27), another two-part ballade in an ‘early’ style (despite its relatively late position in Machaut’s order) to which a contratenor has been added, similar in style to that of B3 and B4; it is used at a point where two fourths – a suspension and a structural dissonance – are prominent. These occur in b.14-16 of the two-part version; in E they are turned into less problematic ‘6-3’ sonorities:

Ex. 7.3 *Une vipere en cuer* (B27), b.13-17
VgB and E, and reduction

Although the contratenor’s ‘hocketing’ effect means that the fourth and diminished fifth are clearly heard before the contratenor enters, its addition to the cantus-tenor pair mitigates these dissonances; Leach, who has described this voice as “an ‘authentic’ contratenor”,³⁴ has related this chain of dissonances to the *vipere* of the text, and noted that “The success of B27’s contratenor lies less with the writing of the contratenor itself than with the intrinsic suitability of the T-Ca duet for the addition of such a part.”³⁵

The three other ballades to which E supplies extra voices are *Je suis aussi* (B20), for which the contratenor is incomplete, *De fortune* (B23) and *De toutes flours* (B31). E’s reading of B20 shows an odd mixture of cadential progressions that suggests the composer of the contratenor was trying to change – indeed, ‘flatten’ – the tonality of the piece, without going so far as to remove all the original sharps. The contratenor is given a signature of ♭-b and ♭-e, more characteristic of early fifteenth-century repertory manuscripts, while the tenor has what appears to be a ♭-g signature. Though this was probably a scribal error, it is tempting to interpret this as a use of the b-*fa* sign described only by Ugolino d’Orvieto: since G is marked *fa*, F must be *mi*, and should be accordingly sharpened [Ex. 7.4(a)]. Such a use of a manuscript accidental is highly unusual: while another apparently occurs in F’s reading of *En amer*, that instance may

³⁴ Leach 1997, 318

³⁵ Ibid., 32

have been a scribal error.³⁶ The added voice gives, in b.18-19 (b), an example of a double leading-note progression altered to a ‘flat’ cadence:

Ex. 7.4 (a) *Je suis aussi* (B20), b.1
 (b) B20, b.17-19

The contratenor alters another standard ‘sharp’ contrapuntal progression to a flatter one at b.15-16; the shape of the contratenor line appears to imply F-natural to C, rather than the expected F-sharp→G. However, the ‘flat’ cadence – descending in the lowest voice to the final by a minor second – was not invariably part of a later style. Karol Berger has discussed the inflections possible at a cadential progression of a major sixth to an octave: “We may quickly dispose of the possibility that the choice here was dictated by a preference for inflecting the upper or lower part. There is no evidence for such a preference and, on the contrary, there is some evidence that a musician was free to inflect either part.”³⁷ Additionally, the use of C below the unison Gs at the *clos* bar (b.16) appears to conflict with the tonal organization of the piece, and Leach’s suggestion that E’s contratenor was taken from an unsuccessful draft is persuasive:³⁸

Ex. 7.5 B20, b.14-16, VgB and E and reduction

De fortune (B23), rather than acquiring a third voice in this manuscript, began with three: but, since the third was the triplum – more characteristic of early-fourteenth century chansons – it was possible to add a contratenor. Indeed, the contratenor seems to be an *alternative* voice rather than an additional one, since in a number of places it creates quite obvious sevenths against the triplum, as well as E-b-c#-e at b.12’s *ouvert*:³⁹

Ex. 7.6 *De fortune* (B23), b.1-4

³⁶ See Ex. 6.6, 156 above

³⁷ Berger 1987, 140

³⁸ Leach: “The contratenor transmitted in E is likely to have been copied from a one-off, abandoned attempt to add such a third voice, and ... the omission of the final cadence represents a state of *non-completion* in the part of the composer, rather than *omission* on the part of the scribe.” (Leach 1997, 306)

³⁹ The scoring of Ca-T-Ct is found in SL.

However, even as part of a three-voice texture the contratenor is problematic: seen alone, the line would appear to imply, to a sight-reading singer, both C-naturals and F-naturals, though #c is clearly marked in the cantus; and while the contratenor could be sung with C-sharps, and with the F-sharps subsequently necessary to avoid diminished intervals, the resulting line seems uncharacteristically awkward:

Ex. 7.7 B23, b.7-11

Leach has also argued that the contratenor and triplum are alternatives:

“The mutual exclusivity of the triplum and contratenor is clearly audible from different responses to the T-Ca progressions at prominent cadential points ... Performance possibilities are limited to two-part and two different three-part versions.”⁴⁰

The contratenor as a whole appears to be much less carefully written than those to B3, B4, B27 or even B20, suggesting that B23 had a different source, and quite possibly a different, and less skilled, composer. However, Alison Bullock has suggested that B23 may have been initially intended as a four-part work, with **E**’s scribe having included a discarded draft of Machaut’s.⁴¹ This work was remarkably popular: copies exist in **Ch** and **PR** (the latter with significant variants in its contratenor), and the song is listed in the indices of **Trém** and **Str**, so it is likely that a number of alternate or additional voices were in circulation.⁴²

A further possibility is suggested by Bullock’s work on the **E**’s reading of the Mass.⁴³ She has shown that different movements display entirely inconsistent levels of editing, which may reflect transmission patterns: for example, the Amen at the end of the Credo appears to have had a separate exemplar from the main body of the movement, since the voices are presented in a different order, with no indication given to performers; she suggests that these variants may have been the result of a scribe’s copying from a short score.⁴⁴ Moreover, the Gloria in **E**’s reading omits all sharps, while

⁴⁰ Leach 1997, 332

⁴¹ Bullock 1998, 76

⁴² See 222 below

⁴³ Bullock 1998, 133-6

⁴⁴ Ibid., 139

the *Ite Missa est*, a movement less frequently performed,⁴⁵ includes most accidentals given in sources closer to the central Machaut tradition. Given that Mass movements would be unlikely to circulate separately, **E**'s readings may have derived from Machaut's own copies, or from closely related material.⁴⁶ Given this parallel between transmission and accuracy, also suggested by the similarities of **E**'s readings of well-known works to the readings in repertory sources, it is conceivable that this contratenor to B23 – whoever its composer may have been – was circulated separately, and copied in this form by **E**'s scribe.

The popularity of *De toutes flours* (B31) surpassed even that of B23 – it survives in the Italian manuscripts **Pit**, **Mod**, **FP** and, arranged for keyboard, in **Fa**, as well as in **PR** and the indices of **Trém** and **Str**. Like B23, the original ballade is for three voices – cantus, tenor and contratenor in this case, in line with late-fourteenth century preferences. In **E**, a triplum is added; unlike B23's 'substitute' contratenor, however, this cannot greatly influence the contrapuntal structure, partly because a triplum is unlikely to cut below *all* the other voices (to provide a new 'lowest note' as a point of reference), and partly because three voices are sufficient to define, and thus limit, possible contrapuntal progressions. Instead, it tends to reinforce existing inflections – and, therefore, existing progressions – by notating accidentals where the three-part version only implies them:

Ex. 7.8 *De toutes flours* (B31), b.2-4, **VgB** and **E**

This might indicate that performers, at some stage, needed to notate additional accidentals, being perhaps unfamiliar with the repertoire.

Accidentals in **E**'s triplum for B31 are, by the generally erratic standards of repertory manuscripts, accurately notated, as are those in the other voices – which

⁴⁵ Bullock cites Anne Walters Robertson's "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut in the Cathedral of Reims", *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forest Kelly (Cambridge 1992), 100-39.

⁴⁶ Bullock 1998, 139

include some (unique to **E**) that suggest a repertory source for the entire ballade.⁴⁷ **E** has an intriguing variant in b.41, which in **Vg** and **B** presents an unusual problem: the pitch B in the cantus is marked #, while a simultaneous B in the contratenor is marked \flat -b.⁴⁸ **E**, however, has no contratenor flat: while this is not a particularly elegant solution – a performer is likely to have sung B-flat here at first sight – it at least allows B-natural to be sung without contradicting the marked accidental in the cantus. There is also a rhythmic variant here which mitigates the problem: the contratenor sings only on the second quaver of the bar, which gives the performer a chance to *hear* the cantus pitch before having to sing it (though this might have been the fortuitous result of interpreting a point in the exemplar as a rest, as **E**'s scribe had done elsewhere):

Ex. 7.9 *De toutes flours* (B31), b.40-43, **VgB** and **E**

While Reaney had suggested that B31's contratenor and triplum were intended to be alternative voices, recent studies have not supported this: Leach stated that "*De toutes flours* lacks contrapuntal evidence that the triplum and contratenor parts are alternatives and four-voice performance remains an option",⁴⁹ using contrapuntal analysis to demonstrate this. Bullock has also suggested that B31 was intended to be a four-part work, with the triplum being discarded after composition in favour of a Ca-T-Ct scoring.⁵⁰

While none of Machaut's remaining ballades has any feature quite as clearly extraneous as an added voice, these works all betray an origin other than manuscript **B**. In *Nes qu'on porroit* (B33), for example, the tenor is marked *Tenor G. de mascandio*, an attribution that would hardly be necessary in a manuscript containing only Machaut's music, or in a group of his chansons copied into a larger, repertory manuscript; however,

⁴⁷ **E**'s triplum is, unusually, labelled 'Triplum de toutes flours', supporting the theory that the exemplar for B31 was a repertory source. The triplum is also to be found in **PR**.

⁴⁸ See **Ex. 5.18**, 140 above

⁴⁹ Leach 1997, 343

⁵⁰ Bullock 1998, 152-3

a single copy – perhaps (as Earp suggested) a rotulus⁵¹ – might have borne this attribution, and may have been the exemplar here.

The presence of this ascription is symptomatic of the scribe's treatment of repertory sources: far from the consistency of such manuscripts as **Vg**, the later ballades in **E** show wildly disparate degrees of accuracy; and while it is impossible to determine whether **E**'s scribe had any role in the creation of the court's copies themselves, it seems likely that he did not edit them further on their inclusion in **E**. (If the available sources of Machaut's chansons were those used by the court musicians, the scribe may not have wished to alter readings to which local performers had become accustomed.)

The one characteristic of **E**'s copying found *throughout* the manuscript, rather than being specific to works from any one source, is the apparently inaccurate vertical positioning of accidentals: a preplaced accidental was frequently written, not at the pitch to which it applied in the other Machaut manuscripts, but at that of the note which it immediately preceded, as **Ex. 7.10(a)** illustrates:

Ex. 7.10 **(a)** *Esperance qui m'asseure* (B13), b.4-5, **B** and **E**

While it might be suggested that these accidentals were intended as solmization signs, the inflections resulting from such an interpretation do not correspond to those found in the other Machaut manuscripts: in this instance, e-*mi* would imply c-*ut*, or c-natural, while *contrapunctus* would require c-sharp below the cantus e, resolving to a unison d. It seems that greater accuracy was not thought necessary – it is possible that local performers were used to this system, and were trusted to inflect the appropriate notes. (The same usage is occasionally found in repertory sources.) The '#' in **Ex. 7.10(b)**, while likely to have the same explanation, might also be interpreted as a cancellation of the ♭-b signature in b.1 of the tenor:

Ex. 7.10 **(b)** *Je ne cuit pas* (B14), b.6-7, **B** and **E**

⁵¹ Earp 1983, 125-6

B33 appears, with regard to its accidentals, to have had an exemplar consistent with the other Machaut sources: while some of its tenor ligatures are differently placed to those in **B**, accidentals tend to vary only in relatively minor aspects, such as their placing. (An alternative reading at b.31, however, of a contratenor a rather than b, gives a different emphasis to the contrapuntal framework of the phrase; this may have resulted from a scribal error or an unclear exemplar.)

Like B33, *Honte, paour* (B25) contains accidentals that are unique to **E**, but that do not contradict the counterpoint already inherent in the other Machaut manuscripts. These tend, therefore, to be accidentals indicating ‘conventional’ inflections, which a performer would probably make in any case. One could say, for example, that **E**’s reading of B25 was not edited with the economy of **Vg**’s: an alternative explanation might be that singers, at some stage of transmission, were not accustomed to performing Machaut’s music, and needed the prompting of additional accidentals. (This is also supported by the profusion of accidentals in **FP**’s reading of this ballade.)⁵² A repertory source is also suggested by **E**’s sporadic use of a two-flat signature, with \flat -e marked a fifth below \flat -b rather than a fourth above; this form is very rarely found in earlier Machaut manuscripts, but commonly appears in late fourteenth-century sources from the Netherlands, such as **Gt** and **Utr**.⁵³

E’s reading of *Gais et jolis* (B35) likewise contains unique accidentals, which are the more surprising for being the only accidentals notated in *any* Machaut manuscript’s reading of this ballade; like those in B25, B31 and B33, they could be described as cautionary. In B35, both are in the contratenor: the first is at the end of a stave, where a singer might assume that the line would continue to descend, and so sing a b-flat rather than the required b-natural; the second occurs at a major-seventh leap, an interval often marked by a cautionary accidental in the contratenors of Machaut’s manuscripts.⁵⁴ Other variants support the possibility that this piece was copied from a

⁵² See 227, below

⁵³ See 206, below

⁵⁴ This usage is also found in **Iv** (see 224, below).

repertory source; it also appears in **PR** and **ModA**, indicating its evident popularity, in Italy at least.

Se pour ce muir (B36) shows clearer signs of having been ‘updated’: rather than the inconsistent use of signatures found in **Vg** and **B**, **E**’s reading has a more fifteenth-century approach – namely a two-flat signature in both tenor and contratenor at the start of every stave, while each cantus stave has a \flat -b signature. In addition to this, other manuscript accidentals have been ‘rationalised’ so that *only* those not included in the signature are notated: this implies an observance of the signature that was quite foreign to earlier fourteenth-century sources, including previous Machaut manuscripts. Clearly, this ballade was copied from a repertory source; this type of signature notation can also be found in sources from the Low Countries dating from c1390-1400.⁵⁵

The majority of the later ballades, however, appear to have had less reliable exemplars. **E**’s version of *Se quanque amours* (B21) might be best described as inaccurate, possibly suggesting that it had been copied many times – that is, that it had been widely distributed – or simply that its exemplar was corrupt. The accumulation of errors through repeated copying can be seen even within the Machaut manuscripts – an example being *Dame, se vous n’avez* (R13), which appears in both the *Voir Dit* and rondeau sections of **E**.⁵⁶ The ballade *De triste cuer/ Quant vrais amans/ Certes je dit* (B29) also contains numerous variants in clef, ligature and omitted accidental, as well as a puzzling \flat -d at b.22 of *De triste cuer*:

Ex. 7.11 *De triste cuer/ Quant vrais amans/ Certes je dit*
(B29), b.22-24, **E**

While a singer might, from a single line of music, interpret it as a preplaced B-flat – allowing for **E**’s frequently inaccurate positioning – this would give a diminished fifth in b.23, and B would no longer serve as a leading-note. This was probably a scribal error: since the \flat -b is at the beginning of a stave, the scribe may have wrongly notated a signature, and, as he had done elsewhere, misplaced the flat. In the notation of

⁵⁵ Examples include the reading of B4 found in **Utr** (see 206, below).

⁵⁶ See **Ex 7.17** and 188, below

Machaut's only canonic ballade, *Sanz cuer/ Amis dolens/ Dame par vous* (B17), there would seem to be less opportunity for error: unlike the other Machaut manuscripts, **E** gives the music only once, with no rubric to instruct performers. However, the accidentals found in other manuscripts are omitted, either through scribal error or through repeated transmission and performance.

Ploures, dames (B32) may give a stronger case for suspecting scribal intervention: **E** omits the #-c in b.2 of the cantus, perhaps because the opening sonority of the piece is c-g-c'. A good many of the subsequent #-c's notated in **B** are also missing from **E**; of course, this does not add up to a revision of B32's contrapuntal structure, since #-c is notated at one or two typically fourteenth-century 'double-sharp' cadences; but it may indicate some alteration to this piece by later performers. (Leach expressed an alternative view when she described the Machaut manuscripts as "over-signed", and suggested that singers would have been sufficiently trained to sing the correct inflections.)

The double ballade *Quant Theseus/ Ne quier veoir* (B34) bears signs of its relatively widespread transmission – copies survive in **Ch** and **PR** – in that many of the 'unconventional' accidentals that characterise Machaut's mature style are omitted in **E**, such as the #-f in a descending vocal line at the beginning of the ballade:

Ex. 7.12 **(a)** *Quant Theseus/ Ne quier veoir* (B34), b.1-2

These may have been 'edited out' by uncomprehending scribes; unlike the 'literary', highly accurate transmission of the other Machaut manuscripts, **E** appears to have been compiled piecemeal, in the manner of most musical anthologies of the time. Similarly, variants of pitch give conventional formulae rather than those in the central Machaut manuscripts; while the variant shown in **Ex. 7.12(b)** might be a simple scribal error, it suggests that **E**'s reading substituted b-G-b̃G with the more formulaic b-a b-G:

Ex. 7.12 **(b)** B34, contratenor, b.7-8

Of the later ballades to be found in both **E** and **B**, *De petit peu* (B18) was clearly not copied from **B** - no surprise, given its phenomenal popularity: as widely known as *De toutes flours*, it appears in **Trém**, **Ch Pit**, **Mod PR** and **CaB**.⁵⁷ *Je puis trop bien* (B28), by contrast, has few variants, perhaps suggesting limited transmission; it appears in no known repertory source.

Finally, **E** gives two readings of *Amours me fait* (B19), for two and three voices – another instance of a work surviving in multiple scorings. Since the first (on f.152r) is for cantus and tenor only, and the second, with triplum, is copied soon afterwards (on f.155r), it is possible that the first exemplar available to the scribe was for two voices; he later received a three-part version, and, since there was no space on f.152 to add the triplum alone, he recopied the whole ballade as near as possible to that folio. (The three-voice copy is slightly cramped: though one might have expected the cantus to begin on a new stave, the beginning is squeezed onto the end of the previous one, straight after the triplum.) While the two-part version is unlikely to have come from **B**, it contains two cantus #-c's (b.1 and b.9) present in **B** but omitted from the three-voice version; this could also explain the ballade's presence in a group of others copied directly from **B**.⁵⁸

This is one of the more puzzling aspects of the layout of **E**'s ballades; in general, however, it seems that the pieces from repertory sources were copied first, with those from **B** copied later, once the scribe had received this exemplar, filling in blank staves at the end of openings (as in f.150v-151r, where B2 appears after B31 and B23) and then following the 'repertory section' [Fig. 7.1]:

⁵⁷ Repertory readings of this work are discussed in the following chapter.

⁵⁸ Alternatively, Alison Bullock has suggested that the later, three-part ballade is in a slightly different hand from the earlier: "Both versions were copied from an exemplar that was in turn copied directly from **B**: the first was only copied with two parts because there was no space for the triplum, and the second was copied by another scribe with different habits" (Bullock 1998, 145).

Fig. 7.1 The layout of E's ballades

Gathering XXI	1	18	f.147
	13	14	
	27	11	f.148
	3	28	
	22	17	f.149
	39		
	29		f.150
	31	23	
	23	2	f.151
	21	25	
	25	19 (a2)	f.152
	20	4	
	4	40	f.153
	35	5	
Gathering XXII	6	16	f.154
	7	8	9
	9	19 (a3)	f.155
	26	12	
	30	15	f.156
	24	10	
	38		f.157
	blank		
	blank		f.158
	blank		

Ballades copied from **B** shown with shading
Ballades sharing variants with **B** shown in italics

While the position of B1 (copied from **B**) at the beginning of the ballade section apparently contradicts this, it is quite possible that this bifolio (f.147 and f.154) was added after f.148-153 had been copied: when the scribe saw that *S'amours ne fait* opened the section in his exemplar,⁵⁹ he decided to give it the same position in **E**, and added the extra bifolio to accommodate it. (The rest of this bifolio is almost entirely occupied by ballades copied from **B**: 6, 7, 8, 13, 14 and 16.) At this point, the scribe realised that **B** contained more ballades than a single gathering would hold, and began a new one, f.155-158 (two bifolios). This (XXII in Earp's numbering) accordingly contains mostly works copied from **B**; apart from B19, *Phyton* (B38) – which does not appear in **B** at all – is the last piece in the gathering and appears to have been added at a late stage of compilation. A repertory source is strongly suggested by the tenor attribution *Tenor g de mascandio*; since the same wording appears in B33, it is possible that these two works had the same source. B30's presence in this second ballade gathering, on the other hand, is another pointer to its close connection with **B**.

Those ballades that have not been mentioned – *Mes esperis* (B39) and *Ma chiere dame* (B40) – are not to be found in **B**; **E**'s versions of both differ considerably from those in **A** and **G**, making either repertory sources or composer's drafts possible. The variants in this work are not consistent with their having a common source; **E**'s reading of B39 omits accidentals present in **G**, while its reading of B40 contains some not found in **G** – indicating that the two songs may have circulated in separate copies.

Taken together, these examinations of the ballades suggest that separate, 'circulating' copies were preferred by **E**'s scribe as exemplars – perhaps because they were thought more up-to-date (for example, those with added contratenors), or were simply available – although it is also possible that the scribe had access to Machaut's draft material. This accords with Earp's views on the manuscript's compilation, while it not discounting Bent's suggestion of authorial intervention through the inclusion of earlier draft or discarded versions.

⁵⁹ In **B**, the ballade is preceded by the words 'Ci commencent les baladez'; **E** extends this to 'Cy commencent les balades de guillaume de machaut' – perhaps since, as Earp points out, **E**'s separate gatherings were not bound together until everything had been copied (Earp 1983, 122).

7.3.2 The Rondeaux

Like **E**'s ballades, the rondeaux appear to have had a number of disparate sources: some appear identical to **B**'s readings; some are close though not exact copies, suggesting an intermediate source between **B** and **E**; and a large proportion show signs of having had a repertory source. Again, the rondeaux apparently copied from **B** are among the earliest in style and ordering, suggesting that these too were not in general circulation, and perhaps not widely known: they are *Doulz viaire gracieus* (R1), *Helas pour quoy* (R2), *Sans cuer dolens* (R4) and *Cinc, un, treze, wit* (R6). R4 appears twice in **E**, in the *Voir Dit* as well as the rondeau section; in the other Machaut manuscripts the *Voir Dit* contains no notated music,⁶⁰ and **E**'s scribe appears to have copied in the music from the other sections of the manuscript – the two versions of R4 differ only in the point at which new staves begin. *Merci vous pri* (R3), though having insufficient variants to establish its provenance firmly, may be placed in this group by virtue of its style.

A related group of rondeaux is formed by those which share most, but not all, of **B**'s variants – that is, those which suggest some degree of editing or 'updating'. In *Quant j'ay l'espart* (R5), for example, **Vg**'s and **B**'s readings contain a ♭ which appears to indicate a hexachord *molle* rather than a single solmization syllable, since there is no note B between the ♭ and a cancelling #. In **E**'s reading the # is omitted, avoiding the melodic tritone in **Vg** and **B**; thus the ♭ functions as a 'normal', preplaced accidental. The resulting tenor [Ex. 7.13] is less typical of Machaut's angular lines, and may have resulted from an intermediate source between **B** and **E**:

Ex. 7.13 *Quant j'ay l'espart* (R5), b.7-11, **Vg B** and **E**

Comment puet on (R11) and *Ce qui soustient moi* (R12), while generally sharing **B**'s readings, also reveal a small number of minor variants: in R12, for example, **E**

⁶⁰ The reader is referred to the music section by the rubric *et y a chant*, which follows the lyric in question.

omits a tenor # (b.7), avoiding a melodic tritone notated in **Vg** and **B**. Most of **E**'s readings of the rondeaux, however, appear to have sources outside the Machaut manuscripts: the clearest example is *Se vous n'estes* (R7), which appears here with a contratenor. This piece was phenomenally popular: its many surviving sources include **FP** (which gives the same contratenor as **E**) and **ModA**, with a new contratenor thought to be by the Italian composer Matteo da Perugia.⁶¹ The version in **E** is clearly from a repertory source: unusually for this manuscript, a number of accidentals are notated that do not occur in **B**, including sharps that seem to have a cautionary purpose [**Ex. 7.14**]:⁶²

Ex. 7.14 *Se vous n'estes* (R7), b.21-24

E's reading varies pitch in several places (for instance, b.13, 15 and 22 of the cantus); the first tenor note is also omitted, resulting in the opening sonority of a sixth rather than a fifth:

Ex. 7.15 R7, b.1-2

R7's contratenor adds to the counterpoint but does not alter it, though it tends (like the contratenor of B4) to create the effect of triads:

Ex. 7.16 (a) R7, b.16-18

The contratenor is also constructed to suggest a canon at one point, by imitating a cantus motif of b.10:

Ex. 7.16 (b) R7, b.9-11

⁶¹ Repertory readings of R7 are discussed in the following chapter (see 207, below).

⁶² This might indicate a late date for **E**'s exemplar of the rondeau, since a performer earlier in the century would have been likely to sing C .B-natural .C without the notation of a #-b in b.23 of the cantus (a practice was described in the *Ars discantus secundum Johannem de Muris*); in the addition of these accidentals, **E**'s reading of R7 suggests generous notation of accidentals found in some Low Countries readings of Machaut's songs.

Compared to some of the ‘added voices’ in **E** (such as that of B23), this is a well-constructed contratenor; Alison Bullock has drawn attention to variants common to **E** and **C**, implying that the original source of the contratenor was Machaut himself.⁶³ Without discounting this possibility, **E**’s variants are too numerous to support a close relationship between these two readings, and provide additional evidence of the popularity and widespread transmission of this rondeau.

While no other rondeaux appear in **E** with added voices, their variants strongly suggest repertory sources – not surprising given that the rondeau was, by the late fourteenth century, the most popular of the *formes fixes*. Both *Vo doulz regars* (R8) and *Rose, liz* (R10) contain inaccuracies in pitch, rhythm and accidentals that suggest their exemplars had been frequently copied and recopied before reaching **E**’s scribe – that, in other words, these pieces may have been widely known. The process of accumulating variants through successive copies is illustrated by **E**’s two readings of *Dame, se vous n’avez* (R13), which appear in the *Voir Dit* as well as in the rondeau section of **E** [Ex. 7.17].⁶⁴ While some are common to both versions, such as pitches in the contratenor at bars 21-22, the reading in the *Voir Dit* contains further scribal errors, suggesting that the latter might have been copied from the former:

Ex. 7.17 *Dame, se vous n’avez* (R13), b.16-18
 Tenor variants in **Vg**, **B** and **E**

Certes mon oeil (R15) and *Ma fin est ma commencement* (R14) both contain numerous variants, again suggesting widespread transmission; this may be supported by the presence of R14 among the Padua Fragments.

Puis qu’en oubli (R18) is a unique case, having apparently begun as a monophonic chanson to which Machaut later added a tenor and contratenor:⁶⁵ its cantus would suit a solo performance, and the other voices lie unusually low in the gamut. (The rondeau gives the only instance of Γ – low G – in Machaut’s *formes fixes*.) Moreover,

⁶³ Bullock 1998, 152-3

⁶⁴ R4 also appears twice in **E**.

⁶⁵ Its identification has been suggested by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, from a passage in the *Voir Dit*; Leech-Wilkinson 1993, 49.

while **E**'s reading of the cantus is fundamentally consistent with **A** and **G** – though omitting some accidentals – its tenor and contratenor differ substantially [Ex. 7.18(b)]; b.2, in particular, makes little contrapuntal sense:

Ex. 7.18 (a) *Puis qu'en oubli* (R18), b.1-3, **A**, and reduction
 (b) R18, b.1-3, **E**, and reduction

While the descending '6-3' effect [Ex. 7.19] of the final phrase may suggest a revision later in style, it is also possible that this was an early and unsuccessful draft of Machaut's, as Alison Bullock has suggested:⁶⁶

Ex. 7.19 R18, b.6-7, **A** and **E**, and reduction

Dix et sept (R17) appears in **E** only in the *Voir Dit*, with two voices, for cantus and tenor only, and with significant variants; the reason is not immediately clear, since there is no lack of space, and **B** gives all three voices. A possible solution to this problem has been proposed by Alison Bullock and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson: this is that the two-part version may have been another early draft, copied at the request of a visiting patron and thus released before Machaut was able to complete the final version for three voices; such a copy could have found its way to the piece at the Berry court, and thence into **E**.⁶⁷

Neither of the remaining rondeaux – *Quant ma dame* (R19) and *Quant je ne voy* (R21) – had appeared in **B** or **Vg**, perhaps having been composed too late for inclusion in these manuscripts; and R20 does not appear in **E**, maybe because no repertory copy was available.⁶⁸

These suggestions are supported by the layout of the rondeaux. **E**, due to its unusually large pages, was unique in combining these with the motets: the rondeaux

⁶⁶ Bullock 1998, 148

⁶⁷ One letter of the *Voir Dit* mentions that Machaut was obliged to show the piece to "strangers" before sending it to Peronne, suggesting the means by which early drafts might 'escape' into circulation (Leech-Wilkinson 1993, 54; Bullock 1998, 145-6).

⁶⁸ Alison Bullock has suggested that R21 was composed at around the same time as R13, but that Machaut may have been reluctant to release R21 – hence its appearance only in the posthumous, 'unauthorised' manuscripts **E** and **G** (Bullock 1998, 147).

were used to fill up empty staves, generally on the recto side of an opening, since the motets had been copied straight across it; this meant that available space was the most important consideration. It appears that works with repertory sources were copied first, with the longer rondeaux at the top of each available space; other pieces not in circulation at the court were subsequently copied from **B**. The process can be divided into three stages [Fig. 7.2]:

Fig. 7.2 The layout of E’s rondeaux

Stages of copying		I	II	III
XIX	f.133r	R10	R12	
	f.134r	R9	R7	
	f.135r	R15 (R16)	R3	
	f.136r	R14	R5	
	f.137r			R19
	f.138r	R8		
	f.139r		R1, R2	R18
	f.140r			
	f.141r	R13		R21
	f.142r	R11		R6
	...			
	f.146r			R4

Rondeaux copied from **B** shown with shading

First, the longer rondeaux (8-11 and 13-15) were taken from repertory sources; these were followed by the first layer of rondeaux from **B** (1-3, 5, 12), plus R7, a short work which could be fitted in beneath the lengthy four-part R9. Then, after adding the highest-numbered rondeaux (again from repertory sources, since they had not been included in **B**), the scribe realised that R4 and R6 had been omitted, so added them; this reflects the copying process of the ballades.

7.3.3 The Virelais

Unlike the other *formes fixes*, the relationship of **E**'s virelais to **B** cannot be so clearly defined. Machaut's monophonic virelais do not appear to have featured at all in repertory sources, none having survived outside the complete works manuscripts. Most of the virelais had been composed by the time that **C**, the first of the Machaut manuscripts, was compiled c1349-56; it was first suggested by Ursula Günther that **C** was intended for Bonne of Luxembourg, and the virelais' lack of circulation may be connected with this patron.⁶⁹ This contrasts with the other monophonic genre, the lai: the substantial variants found in **E**'s readings, not least in their accidentals, suggest that these pieces were still known and performed late in the fourteenth century.⁷⁰

If the virelais had followed the pattern seen among **E**'s ballades and rondeaux, the scribe might have been expected to copy them all directly from **B**, since these works were evidently not known in repertory sources; indeed, half of **E**'s twenty-six virelais appear to have a connection with **B** through shared variants. These might be divided into three categories: a first group, comprising V5, 23, 25 and 29, shows relatively insignificant variants from **B**, probably the result of scribal habit. V29 clearly was copied from **B**: its tenor is cut off exactly at the point where **B**'s ends (due to a missing folio at a gathering change), and **E** also copies an altered pitch and rhythm from **B** (b.17). However, **E** must have had a separate text source; as Margaret Bent noted, the text omitted in **B** is provided by **E**, but from an unrelated source – the missing text was not copied from **Vg**.⁷¹ This separation of text and music sources can be detected throughout **E**'s virelais.

A second group is made up of V7, 9, 12, 16, and 27: these appear to have undergone some editing in addition to the variants shared with **B**. V7, for example, contains a cautionary flat found in no other manuscript [Ex. 7.20]:

Ex. 7.20 *Puis que ma douleur* (V7), b.5-9, **B** and **E**

⁶⁹ Günther 1982, 101-106

⁷⁰ Or, as Earp proposed in his dissertation, being composed (Earp 1983, 322-326).

⁷¹ Bent 1985, 70

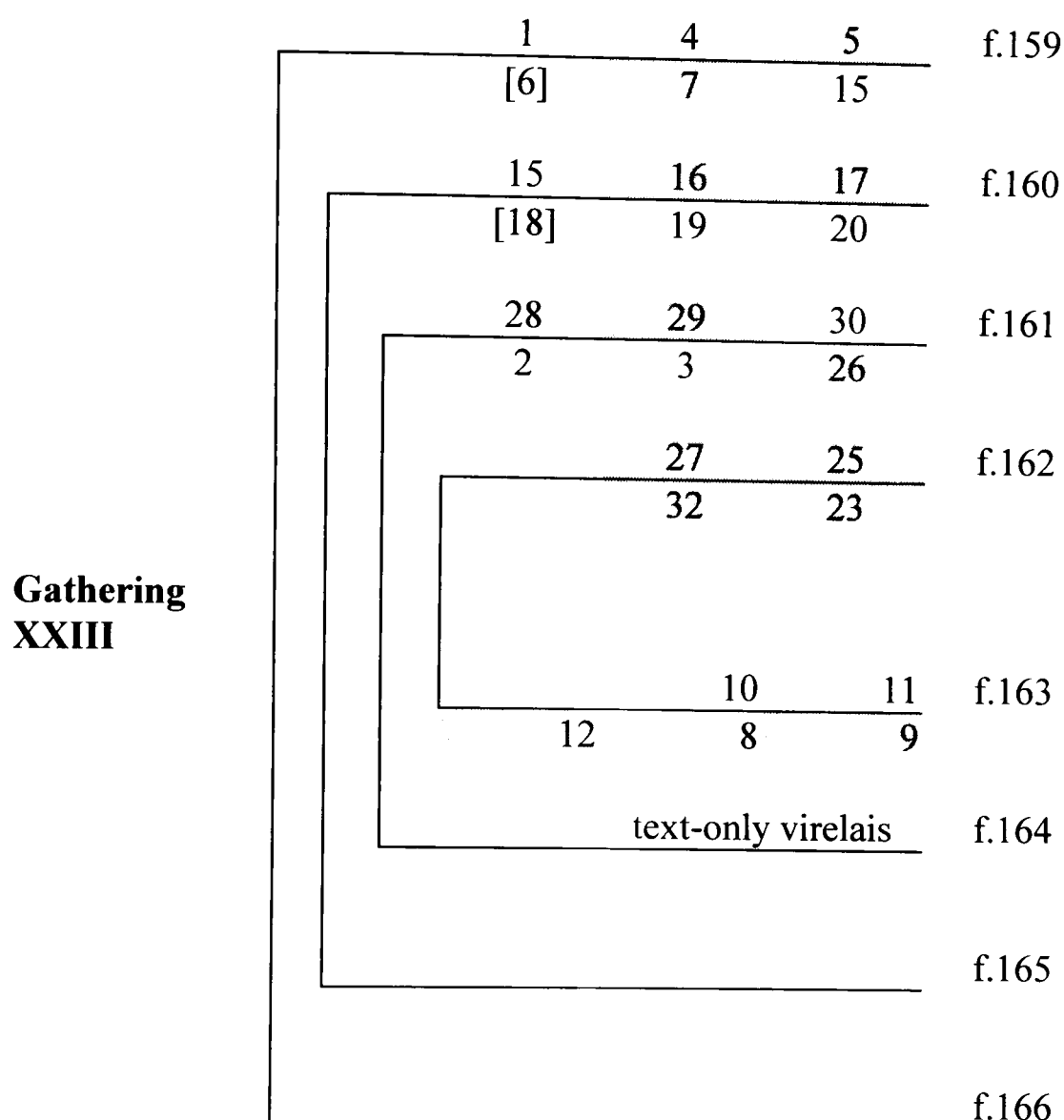
These additional variants, while perhaps arising from an intermediate source between **B** and **E**, might also have resulted from hurried copying. It is possible that **E**'s scribe made a rough copy of these pieces from **B** – perhaps because the exemplar was needed elsewhere – and later copied them into the manuscript; this would account for numerous minor variants. This situation is magnified in a number of virelais which appear to be inaccurate copies of **B**, containing numerous scribal errors as well as variants found in **B**: these are V10, 17, 26 and 32.⁷²

E's scribe must, however, have had access to a source other than **B** for half of the virelais, since a large proportion contain variants which, while not altering readings, do not connect them with any extant source: these are V1-4, 11, 19, 20 and 28. In addition to these, the variants in V30 – a work not included in **B** – link it clearly with **C**'s reading; and **E**'s readings of V8 and V15 bear some resemblance to variants found in **A** and **C**. Finally, two works appear with texted but blank staves: V6 and V18. (Virelais 14, 15 and 31, as well as the text-only V33-38, are not included in **E**.)

Generally, accidentals in the virelais do not show many variants, unlike the other *formes fixes*, and none that imply alterations made by performances over a period of time. While **B** was clearly one source, further virelais may have been found among Machaut's papers (which may already have been the source of some variants in the ballades and rondeaux). The layout of the virelai section was unlike that of either the ballades or the rondeaux: virelais appeared in small groups, of two to five pieces, within which Machaut's original order was retained; some slight changes were made, to fit as many works as possible onto a page, but these groups themselves were not ordered. This suggests that they were copied from separate sheets or bifolia, which may have been correctly ordered at first but had since become disarranged; **Fig. 7.3** shows their order:

⁷² **E**'s reading of V10's central section is close, but not identical, to **B**'s idiosyncratic 'substitution': bars 12-16 had been inadvertently omitted from **B**, so the scribe supplied his own version to complete the piece. Bent suggested that these variants "might at some point have derived from a dictation process and been separately rhythmicized by the two scribes" (Bent 1985, 69).

Fig. 7.3 **Layout of virelais in E**



Virelais with text and blank staves only are shown in brackets

Virelais in readings close to **B**'s are shown with shading

However, the 'ordered groups' contain pieces with evidently mixed sources: for example, while V4-7 appear in order, **E**'s readings of V5 and 7 are close to **B**, while V4 is not, and V6 has no music.

This complex process of assembly may be linked to the somewhat shadowy status of the monophonic virelai at the end of the fourteenth century; the nature of the variants among these works provides a counterpart to those found in **E**'s ballades and

rondeaux, and reinforces the idea that the performance of virelais was restricted – perhaps intentionally so, by those for whom they were originally composed.

7.4 Summary

These varied sources for E's *formes fixes* illustrate the latitude available to scribes in notating accidentals in the more usual medium of repertory manuscripts, outside the closely-monitored manuscripts of collected works copied during Machaut's lifetime; E could be seen as a hybrid of these two traditions, and it is notable that E's apparently accurate, if uninformed, copying reflects this.

In some of E's variants, particularly in songs which are likely to have had 'repertory' sources, may be the traces of performance practice, and include 'conventional' variants of pitch and motif; variants in the notation of accidentals may also have originated in performers' copies. E's additional voices cannot, however, all be safely ascribed to later anonymous hands; it is possible, as Leach and Bullock have discussed, that some of them may represent Machaut's early or discarded drafts.

The group of works with 'repertory sources' – as opposed to those evidently copied from B – reflects those found in contemporary anthologies such as the Ghent and Utrecht fragments, or the Trémoille and Chantilly manuscripts, and thus may help to give an indication of musical tastes in the late fourteenth century.

8: Machaut's Music in Repertory Sources

8.1 Introduction

While the preceding chapters have focused on the details of accidentals notated in the Machaut manuscripts, a study of Machaut's works in other sources must encompass a far wider range of variants, since this transmission occurred out of the composer's control, and largely after his death. In contrast to Machaut's collections of his works, most music in the fourteenth century was transmitted in the more portable form of fascicles, bifolios, rotuli, or single copies, often carried by composers and musicians travelling from one patron to another, which clearly opened the music to a good deal of variation: new voices could be added or substituted; lyrics could be partially included, omitted or replaced by sacred *contrafacta*; and a few songs were arranged for keyboard instruments. Some of these variants could reflect changes in musical style throughout the years in which Machaut's music continued to be performed and copied – changes encompassing harmonic language, vocal scoring, and the training of singers.

Certain songs written in the fourteenth century continued to be included in secular anthologies well into the fifteenth; a small group of works – which Strohm has described as an “international” repertory due to its wide distribution across Europe¹ – continued to appear in sources copied as late as the 1420s. These included several chansons of Machaut's, two by Pierre de Molins,² and a number of anonymous songs dating from the mid to late fourteenth century. Without the Machaut manuscripts,

¹ Strohm 1984, 118-119

² The most widely transmitted of this composer's songs are the ballade *De ce que fols pense* (in Trém, CaB, Ch, the McVeagh and Ghent fragments, PR, FP, MuA, Str and Fa) and the rondeau *Amis tout dous* (in Trém, Iv, Pit, Str, Pg and the Cortona and Grottaferrata fragments).

present-day knowledge of Machaut's music would be limited to this means of transmission; at least sixteen of Machaut's chansons, and a smaller number of motets, are known to have been copied in such sources, but very few of these were ascribed to the composer. Where attributions were made, they might be inaccurate: **Str** ascribes both Pierre de Molins' *De ce que fol pense* – listed as *Sche que vol pense* – and the anonymous *Jour a jour la vie* to 'Wilhelmi de Maschaudio'.³

This repertoire continued to be copied – and, given the wide range of surviving variants, evidently performed in one version or another – despite differences in the harmonic language of new compositions, discernible from the end of the fourteenth century onwards. While *contrapunctus* continued to serve as the framework of musical structure, and to be cited as such throughout the fifteenth century in theoretical writings, the hierarchy of intervals became gradually less restrictive in its use of thirds and sixths:⁴ an early example is Jacob de Senleches' ballade *Fuions de ci*, written to lament the death of the composer's patron Eleanor of Castile in 1382 – which, as Strohm pointed out, deploys a succession of triads the like of which would not have been found in compositions of the preceding generation.⁵ Changes which had already become evident in Machaut's music included a preference for contratenor over triplum as the third voice, and a corresponding emphasis on the song lyric; such shifts in style can be detected in the addition of voices to certain works in manuscript **E**, and in the resulting counterpoint.⁶

³ Van der Linden 1972, 19 and 25. The range of variants found in repertory sources was not confined to medieval transmission; Leo Treitler has described a similar process of transformation, emendation and butchery involving a Schubert waltz, Op.9 No.2, 'Sehnsucht' – circulated as (among other things) 'Beethoven's *Le désir*' in the later nineteenth century and into the twentieth (Treitler 1981).

⁴ See 57, above

⁵ Strohm 1993, 55

⁶ The point at which these changes first became apparent has long been the subject of debate: Apel's study *French Secular Music of the Fourteenth Century* grouped works into the chronological progression of the "pre-Machaut style", the music of Machaut himself, the "manneristic style" (Apel 1950) – subsequently termed by Ursula Günther the *Ars subtilior* (Günther 1963b) – and lastly the "modern style"; the contrast between the two latter groups, he suggested, could be seen most clearly in the music of Matteo da Perugia. However, Günther's work on the principal source for this composer's music, **ModA**, placed it between 1410 and 1418 – which, being significantly later than Apel's date of c1390, called into question his dating of stylistic changes.

A fourteenth-century song might be retained in the fifteenth-century repertoire for performance by contemporary musicians, or as an indication of the esteem still accorded to a preceding generation of composers; the Squarcialupi Codex gives numerous examples of the latter, as John Nádas has noted in the course of his study of the transmission of Florentine secular music. The circumscribed nature of that repertoire has made it possible for him to trace its transmission and performance history through a comparison of variants, leading to his suggestion that certain works continued to be copied into manuscripts for some time after they had ceased to be performed:

“[Such works] were recopied instead in essentially fixed form from other written anthologies, and were therefore not as open to editing and rearrangement as was the more recent and still ‘living’ repertory being performed.”⁷

However, although a number of the sources examined by Nádas include French works (**FP**, **Pit** and **SL** all contain works by Machaut), the French songs in these manuscripts do not appear to have become ‘fixed’ in this way – possibly because they were not accorded the same status, and were copied specifically for performers: in **PR** and **FP** such chansons were added beneath the first layer of copying, filling in remaining space on pages already bearing Italian works, or in separate gatherings. (The case is somewhat different for **ModA**, which, given its content, may have been the personal anthology of Matteo da Perugia.)⁸ Indeed, variants in repertory sources of Machaut tend to suggest that these songs were still frequently performed, in readings adapted for new performers or annotated to preserve past traditions. Such adaptation might entail alterations to harmonic language or vocal scoring: for example, *De petit peu* (B18), which appears in the Machaut manuscripts for cantus-tenor-triplum, acquired a contratenor in **CaB** and **ModA**, as well as appearing in **Ch**, **FP** and **SL** scored for cantus-tenor-contratenor (without triplum). *De fortune* (B23) is in the central Machaut

⁷ Nádas 1985, 128. Observing this phenomenon in Italian songs transmitted in **Sq** and **SL**, he cited the examples of two composers: “By the second decade of the fifteenth century, the once live art of Giovanni da Cascia and Jacopo [da Bologna]’s earliest works had ceased to bend and flex with the stimulation of a performing tradition; and at such a distance from their genesis, these works were beginning to be copied and recopied in essentially the same manner.” (Nádas 1992, 151)

⁸ Matteo and **ModA** are discussed below, 216.

manuscripts scored for cantus-tenor-triplum, though **E** adds a contratenor; repertory sources of this ballade variously present it in **E**'s reading (with contratenor), in four parts with a different contratenor, for three voices with either contratenor or triplum, and, in one case, for cantus and tenor only. New voices in such scorings could entail alterations to the original contrapuntal structure of the work; keyboard arrangements might also be notated, such as those in the Reina and Faenza codices. Additionally, certain notational variants occurring in the course of transmission might not affect the reading of a work – such as ligatures, certain variants of rhythmic notation (due to differences between the French and Italian systems of notation), orthography, or the Italian use of six-line staves.

Reinhard Strohm has divided music sources during this period as two repertoires, terming them 'central' – focussed on the most advanced centres of composition, such as Avignon, and to some extent what Ursula Günther had referred to as *Ars subtilior* compositions; and 'lateral', the less complex style found elsewhere.⁹ The central repertoire was spread between allied courts and countries, such as France, Milan, Aragon and Navarre;¹⁰ manuscripts containing such works include **Ch**, **Apt**, **Iv** and, given its connections with the French court, **TuB**. The lateral repertoire was characterised by a mixture of local influence and French repertoire, such as that which took place in Burgundy, the Low Countries and other territories:

“Musically, ['central' composers] all depended on the great models of the French *Ars nova*; this makes them representatives of the 'central tradition'. By contrast, the 'lateral traditions' of music ... resulted from interactions between the *Ars nova* and regional traditions already present in countries further to the west, north and east. Broadly speaking, these interactions were learning processes. For the musicians of the central tradition, however, who were firmly grounded in the

⁹ This division has not been entirely accepted, however; Leeman Perkins, in his review of *The Rise of European Music*, argued that it was the *Ars Subtilior* which was peripheral, while the majority of composers and musicians wrote and performed in the *Ars Nova* style which Strohm termed 'lateral' (*JAMS* IL/3 Fall 96, 561-8).

¹⁰ Strohm cited a letter from King John I of Aragon to his ambassador in Avignon, requesting a collection of music to be made for him “by the singers of the pope, because they know the best quality” (Strohm 1993, 37).

Ars nova of Vitry and Machaut, the question was more a matter of how to go beyond maturity.”¹¹

This division, in his view, reflected the route by which music in the lateral sources was taken from France via the Netherlands to Italy, while the central repertory was more directly transmitted from Paris and Avignon to Italy and other allied territories. As Craig Wright observed in his study *Music at the Court of Burgundy*, “The overwhelming majority of works by Burgundian composers is preserved in collections assembled outside of France, to wit in northern Italy.”¹²

The Italian taste for French music and literature was reinforced by the large numbers of musicians from France and the Low Countries employed in northern Italy, whose emigration was aided by the gathering of European musicians at the Council of Constance – and, as David Fallows noted, by “the coincidence that two of the grandest northern establishments unloaded their musicians about [that] time”: John the Fearless was assassinated in 1419, and as his son, Philip the Good, could not afford to restart the chapel until 1430, many unemployed singers moved to the Papal Chapel, while at around that time the French royal chapel was also disbanded.¹³

The French influence could be seen in the popularity of three-part writing and scoring for contratenor; the corresponding emphasis given to the song lyric in the upper voice; the use of the French *formes fixes* – particularly the rondeau; the introduction of *verto* and *chiuso* endings, corresponding to *ouvert* and *clos*, in polyphonic ballate; and the use of coloration and proportions. Italian composers such as Philipoctus da Caserta and Matteo da Perugia embraced the complexity of the Ars subtilior, and many of the principal sources of Italian music of this period also contained French-texted works. Although **ModA** appears to have been compiled under somewhat different circumstances – it may have been the personal collection of Matteo da Perugia, a

¹¹ Ibid., 36

¹² Wright 1979, 159. Wright described how Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, had employed singers from Avignon in 1390s, while his son John the Fearless “hired his chaplains and clerks mainly from the great cathedrals of Paris, particularly the Cathedral of Notre Dame and the Sainte Chapelle” (ibid., 162-163).

¹³ Fallows 1996, 434

composer with a extensive knowledge of Machaut's music – its works with French texts nevertheless outnumbered those with Italian.

Italian theorists were aware of French developments in notation from the beginning of the fourteenth century: Marchetto da Padova's *Pomerium musices*, written soon after 1320, was among the first treatises to describe the differences between Italian and French rhythmic notation.¹⁴ French chansons copied in Italian codices might appear in various permutations of these systems: in her study of the Paduan fragments, Anne Hallmark detected notation ranging from French, in chansons such as *Or sus vous dormes trop* (**PadC**), to Italian, in the works of Landini, as well as combinations such as "late Trecento notation with French influence" in the isorhythmic motet *Gratiosus fervidus/ Magnanissimus opere*.¹⁵ This, she suggested, was mirrored in the various hybrids of French and Italian compositional styles:

"To confront the notational system of northern Italy during the fourteenth century is to behold a bewildering array of developments and contamination from French notation, especially after the middle of the century."¹⁶

While the notation of accidentals was less strikingly varied (except perhaps in the shapes of these signs), it was nevertheless affected by the circumstances under which the music was copied, and might provide an insight into the transmission and performance of music in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century – particularly into the music and notation to which singers were accustomed, and the alterations that might be undertaken to make an 'old' song conform to contemporary fashions.

¹⁴ These differed on a number of points, not least the use of a six-line stave, and the use of the *punctus* to clarify rhythmic groupings; an overview is given in Fellin 1978.

¹⁵ Hallmark 1983, 200

¹⁶ Ibid., 199

Fig. 8.1 **Machaut's works in repertory sources**

Manuscript	Siglum	Approximate date	Provenance	Ballades B4	B18	B22	B23	B25	B31
Central Machaut manuscripts									
C	F-Pn 1586	1349-56	Paris	Ca T	Ca T Tr	Ca [blank T, Ct]	Ca T Tr		
Vg	US-NYw	c1370-2	Paris	Ca T	Ca T Tr	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Tr	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct
B	F-Pn 1585	1372	Paris	Ca T	Ca T Tr	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Tr	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct
A	F-Pn 1584	early 1370s	Reims/Paris	Ca T		Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Tr	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct
F-G	F-Pn 22545-6	late 1370s/ paintings c1390	Reims/Paris	Ca T	Ca T Tr	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Tr	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct
E	F-Pn 9221	up to 1390s	Duc de Berry	Ca T Ct	Ca T Tr	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct Tr
Other sources									
Gt	B-Gr 3360	c1390	Ghent		Ca T (part)				
Tg	B-TOa 490	1370s	Paris						
K	CH-Beb 218	1371	Paris						
Pg	Cs-PU Xle9	c1400 or 1420 (both Strohm)	Strasbourg		Ca T				
	D-Nst 25	late 14th century			T Ct (part)				
CaB	F-CA 1328	c1370	Cambrai/N France		Ca T Tr +Ct				
Ch	F-CH 564	1395/later (disputed)	S France/ Italy		Ca T Ct		Ca T Tr Ct		
Str	F-Cm 222	c1420	Strasbourg				Ca T Tr (contrafactum)		Ca T Ct Tr
Pit	F-Pn 568	1405-1410	Lucca (or Florence)		Ca T Ct				Ca T Ct
PR	F-Pn 6771	1400-10/later	Veneto/Padua			Ca T Tr, new Ct	Ca T Tr, new Ct		Ca T Ct Tr
J	F-Pn Ars.5203	1370s	N France						
Trem	F-SERRANT	1376 and later	Burgundy?	index	index		index	index	index
W	GB-AB 5010C	c1356	close to Charles d'Orleans?						
Pe	GB-Cmc 1594	between 1400 and 1425	N. France						
PadA	GB-Ob 229	late 14th/early 15th	Padua						
SL	I-FI 2211	c1400?	Florence		Ca T Ct		Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct	
FP	I-Fn 26	1380-90/later	Florence		Ca T Ct				Ca T Ct
Fa	I-Fzc 117	1410-20	Ferrara					2 parts	2 parts
Iv	I-lv 115	after 1365, or 1380-90s	Savoy/Avignon?						
ModA	I-MOe α.M.5.24	1410-18	Milan/Bologna		Ca T Tr +Ct				Ca T Ct
PadA	I-Pad 1475	late 14th/early 15th	Padua						
Lu	NL-Lu 2720	1390s	Brabant/ Low Countries						
Utr	NL-Uu 1846 (olim 37)	1390s	Brabant/ Low Countries	Ca T Ct (part)					
Pm	US-Nypm 396	1425-30	N France/Burgundy?				Ca T		Ca T Ct

Fig. 8.1 Machaut's works in repertory sources (continued)

Manuscript	Ballades				Rondeaux				Lay	Complainte	C roial	Baladelle	Balade
	B32	B34	B35	B38	R7	R9	R14	R17	<i>Qui naroit</i>	<i>Tels rit</i>	<i>Joie</i>	<i>En amer</i>	<i>Dame de qui</i>
Central Machaut manuscripts													
C					Ca T [blank Tr]	Ca T Tr Ct			Ca	Ca	Ca	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T
Vg	Ca T Ct	Ca1 Ca2 T Ct	Ca T Ct		Ca T	Ca T Tr Ct	[Ca T Ct]	Ca T Ct	Ca	Ca	Ca	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Tr Ct
B	Ca T Ct	Ca1 Ca2 T Ct	Ca T Ct		Ca T	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca	Ca	Ca	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Tr Ct
A	Ca T Ct	Ca1 Ca2 T Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T	Ca T/Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca	Ca	Ca	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Tr Ct
F-G	Ca T Ct	Ca1 Ca2 T Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca	Ca	Ca	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Tr Ct
E	Ca T Ct	Ca1 Ca2 T Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Ct	Ca T	Ca	Ca	Ca	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Tr Ct
Other sources													
Gt					[Frag T] Ct								
Tg													
K												Ca T Ct	Ca T
Pg					Ca T								
CaB					Ca T Tr Ct								
Ch		Ca1 Ca2 T Ct											
Str					Ca T Ct								
Pit												Ca T Ct	
PR		Ca1 Ca2 T Ct	Ca T Ct									Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T Tr Ct
J												space for music	space for [Ca] and 'Tenor'
Trem				index		index						index	index
W													
Pe						Ca T Tr Ct			Ca	Ca	Ca	Ca T Tr Ct	Ca T
PadA?							Ca T Ct						
SL		Cantus 1 only			Ca T Ct								
FP												Ca T Ct	
Fa													
Iv								Ca T Ct					
ModA			Ca T Ct		Ca T, new Ct								
PadA													
Lu													
Utr	[Frag T, Ct]												
Pm					Ca T	Ca T							

Fig. 8.1 Machaut's works in repertory sources (continued)

Manuscript	Virelay <i>Dame a vous</i>	Rondelet <i>Dame mon cuer</i>	Motets M1	M8	M9	M10	M14	M15	M16	M19	M20	M23	Mass	Notes
Central Machaut manuscripts														
C	Ca	Ca T Tr		Mo T Tr										
Vg	Ca	Ca T Tr		Mo T Tr										
B	Ca	Ca T Tr		Mo T Tr										
A	Ca	Ca T Tr		Mo T Tr										
F-G	Ca	Ca T Tr		Mo T Tr										
E	Ca	Ca T Tr		Mo T Tr										
Other sources														
Gt														
Tg														
K														
Pg														
CaB				Mo T Tr										
Ch														
Str														
Pit														
PR														
J														
Trem				index	index	index	index	Mo, T extant	index	index	index	index		Inadequate space for <i>En amer</i>
W			Only Tr survives											Index only
Pe	Ca	[R9 instead]												Earp: "Shortly after C" (Earp 1989, 473)
PadA?														
SL														
FP														
Fa														
Iv				Mo T Tr				Mo T Tr		Mo T Tr				
ModA														
PadA													<i>Ite missa est</i>	
Lu														
Utr														
Pm														Copied from A (Avril 1982)

8.2 Machaut's songs in repertory sources

Machaut's secular works appear in at least twenty repertory sources, while ten of his motets, along with the *Ite missa est* from the Mass, are also known to have existed outside the manuscripts of his collected works. These sources, summarised in **Fig. 8.1** (on the preceding pages), encompass a considerable range, both geographically – covering France, Italy, the Netherlands and parts of central Europe – and chronologically – dating from the latter part of Machaut's lifetime to around 1430; readings may include additional or substitute voices, versions cut down to cantus and tenor, and keyboard arrangements, in addition to variants in melodic figuration, rhythm and aspects of notation.

Certain of Machaut's chansons have been chosen to illustrate how notation was adapted to suit the ability and taste of performers, and, perhaps, to suggest in what form Machaut's songs were performed over this period. The composer's high standing at the end of his life is reflected in the number of his works listed in the 1376 index of the Trémoille manuscript – all that survives of that source – while the very widely transmitted *Se vous n'estes* (R7) demonstrates the range of variants to be found in a single song. The transmission of his chansons to the Low Countries in the 1380s and 1390s is seen in readings of B4 and B32 in the Utrecht and Leiden fragments, while readings from **Iv**, **Ch**, **PR**, **FP** and **Pit** demonstrate the spread of certain of Machaut's songs to Italian and French-Italian sources. Later readings are represented by examples from **Str**, **Pg** and **Fa**'s keyboard arrangements.

8.2.1 The Trémoille Manuscript

Sadly, what would have been one of the best repertory sources of Machaut's works, copied during his lifetime, exists only as an index and its first bifolio. **Trém** was a *liber motetorum* – a collection of mainly sacred works made for the use of a religious foundation. Begun shortly before the composer's death, the manuscript, which was in

the possession of the Dukes of Burgundy, contained the largest collection of his works of any extant repertory source – eighteen in all – though none is attributed to him in the index.¹⁷ Nevertheless, this manuscript has played an important part in dating many fourteenth-century works, both secular and sacred, since its scribe dated the index 1376. It is in more than one hand; Bent has suggested that the manuscript was copied in two stages, with the first part of the index being made after the music had been copied, and the remainder (covering ff. 33-48) accumulating as new pieces were added:¹⁸ the date of 1376 would therefore have applied only to the first stage of copying. (Concordances exist for all but one of the works in this stage.) Machaut's works appear largely in the first layer, and thus were copied in, or shortly before, 1376.

The concentration of Machaut's works here may indicate the extent of his reputation at that time; the next best-represented composer in the manuscript appears to have been Philippe de Vitry, since seven motets attributed to him are listed in the index. Machaut's chansons in **Trém** are largely those that appear in other repertory sources – B4, 18, 23, 25, 31 and 38, *En amer*, *Dame de qui*, and R9; only one of these, B38, is not known in any other extant repertory source.¹⁹ The manuscript apparently contained very few virelais;²⁰ the high number of Machaut's motets, though, includes many that are not found in any other repertory source. Motets 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20 and 23 are listed in **Trém**'s index; although three of these (M8, 15 and 19) appear in the Ivrea Codex – a motet book probably compiled slightly later than **Trém** – only M8 survives elsewhere, being included in the Cambrai fragments.²¹

¹⁷ Wright noted that “the relatively small number of secular compositions and the fact that the manuscript was housed in the ducal chapel indicate that this was first and foremost a collection of liturgical and paraliturgical music” (Wright 1979, 158); he also provided further details of their library inventories, which included two “books of Machaut” (ibid., 140-146).

¹⁸ Bent 1990, 222

¹⁹ *Phyton, le merveileus serpent* (B38) was evidently known among other composers, however: it is the model for the ballade by Magister Franciscus in **Ch**, *Phyton, Phyton, beste tres venimeuse*.

²⁰ Hasselman, however, speculated that since no music survived, some of the pieces listed as motets might in fact have been in virelai form (Hasselman 1970, 52-55).

²¹ See 209, below

8.2.2 The Utrecht Fragments: Ballades 4 and 32

The previous chapter examined the influence of repertory sources upon Machaut manuscript **E**; those sources which may have provided exemplars for some of **E**'s chansons were likely to have been copies circulating in northern France and the Low Countries – a group to which the Utrecht fragments belong. These comprise parts of two sources, one dating from c1400 – though it contains music which is considerably older, including mass movements and Latin motets – the second apparently part of a chansonnier from the Low Countries, which Strohm has suggested was copied for the Brabant court c1390-1400.²²

It contains both *Biaute qui toutes autres pere* (B4) and *Pleures dames* (B32), neither of which is widely known among repertory sources.²³ B4 appears in **Utr** (f.29r) for cantus, tenor and contratenor, as in **E**; it had also been listed in the index of **Trém**. Numerous minor variants in pitch and rhythm are to be found in this reading, though it is incomplete; however, the most remarkable aspect of its notation of accidentals is the consistent use of 'two-flat signatures' in the tenor and contratenor, together with less regular B-flat signatures in the cantus. **Ex. 8.1** shows the opening of the ballade:

Ex. 8.1 *Biaute qui toutes autres pere* (B4), **Utr**, opening signatures

This signature notation, in which the flats are written a fifth apart rather than a fourth (b-e being the lower) is found very infrequently in the Machaut manuscripts: the only comparable example among the *formes fixes* occurs in **E**, B36.²⁴ The tenor and particularly the contratenor notate more sharps than **E**, as **Ex. 8.2** illustrates, although the cantus gives fewer accidentals than the Machaut manuscripts, not merely omitting flats rendered unnecessary by its B-flat signature:

Ex. 8.2 (a) B4, contratenor b.7-9, **Utr**
 (b) B4, contratenor, b.18-20, **Utr**

²² Strohm 1993, 69

²³ Facsimiles are given in Schreuers 1995.

²⁴ See 181, above

The tendency to notate accidentals denoting directed progressions, where the Machaut manuscripts imply them, is characteristic of sources of this period and recalls Leach's comments on "over-signing" in the Machaut manuscripts: the notation of accidentals in **Utr** is even more clearly signed, perhaps indicating that performers outside Machaut's immediate circle required more assistance in adding the required inflections. The notation of two-flat signatures such as these also becomes apparent from around this time. (While a few instances of two-flat signatures are to be found in **C**, these generally position the B-flat below the E-flat, a fourth apart.)

Even less has survived of **Utr**'s reading of the *Voir Dit* ballade *Pleures Dames* (B32): only the tenor and part of the contratenor remain. Their accidentals are similar to those in the Machaut manuscripts, although fewer in number: for example, the # in b.3 of the contratenor is not repeated at the analogous point at b.21; and, like **Utr**'s reading of B4, minor variants in pitch are also evident. Generally, these two readings indicate that, while the sources were not necessarily close to Machaut, their practice in notating accidentals was faithful to the contrapuntal implications of the original, without reproducing accidentals in the Machaut manuscripts.

8.2.3 *Se vous n'estes* (R7)

The changing notation of a single Ars nova song in its progress through Europe can be traced in the numerous sources of *Se vous n'estes* (R7), one of the most widely transmitted of Machaut's chansons. This work first appeared among the earliest rondeaux in **CII**, where it was scored for two voices; however, a triplum was evidently planned, since **C** included empty staves for that purpose. (While none of the Machaut manuscripts supply a triplum, the Cambrai fragments do give one; however, this is only partially legible.)

Fifteen sources of *Se vous n'estes* are known, a number approached by only a few other chansons of this period. Its genre may have increased its popularity – by the end of the fourteenth century the rondeau had superseded the ballade to become the preferred *forme fixe* – while its text was also memorable for its ingenious play on the word *guerredonnée* (meaning ‘reward’). As well as the six Machaut manuscripts, *Se vous n'estes* appears in sources from Northern France and the Low Countries, Italy, and ‘Germanic’ territories, as **Fig. 8.2** shows:

Fig. 8.2: Sources of *Se vous n'estes* (R7)

Machaut manuscripts

C	c1349-56	f. 202v	Ca, T, empty staves for Tr
Vg	c1372	f. 318r	Ca, T
B	c1372	f.317r	Ca, T
A	later 1370s	f. 477v	Ca, T
G	late 1370s-1390?	f. 151r	Ca, T
E	c1390	f. 134r	Ca, T, Ct

Repertory sources

CaB₂	1360/1380	f. 6v	Ca, T, Ct, Tr
Tg	c1375	f.Ar	Ca, T
Pm	c1425-30	f. 214v	Ca, T
Gt (B-Gr 3360)	c1390-1400	f. 3r	[Ca] T, Ct
FP	c1400	f. 60r	Ca, T, Ct
ModA	c1415-18	f. 34r/ 5v	Ca, T, alternative Ct
Pg	c1415-20	f. 257v	Ca, T
Str	c1420	f. 73v	Lost

The central Machaut manuscripts all give two voices for R7; however, one contratenor is found in several repertory sources, as well as in **E**; and while its provenance is unknown, it is possible that it derived from the composer's drafts. Other added voices, such as the partially surviving triplum in **CaB₂**, appear to be of a style inconsistent with Machaut's own; these are discussed below.

8.2.3.1 The Pierpont-Morgan Manuscript

A two-part reading is found in **Pm**, copied in north-east France or southern Burgundy. Although this is one of the latest sources of the rondeau, dating from c1425-30,²⁵ **Pm** is related to **A**: François Avril noted that its miniatures were modelled on those in **A**, while Wolfgang Dömling had described **Pm** as a direct copy of that Machaut manuscript.²⁶ The chansons here are Machaut's most widely known, though they do not always appear in the scoring found in **A**: in addition to R7 (cantus and tenor), the manuscript includes B23 for two voices, B31 for cantus-tenor-contratenor, and R9 for cantus and tenor (as it appears in one of **A**'s two readings). Daniel Leech-Wilkinson has noted that **Pm**'s text of the *Voir Dit* is also heavily cut, and has suggested that this manuscript resembled an abridged version of Machaut's best-known works.²⁷

Accidentals in this source are broadly similar to those in **A**, although sharps are not always notated accurately – for instance, **Pm** has '#-g' where the Machaut manuscripts have #-f – and three of the five sharps are notated as \sharp rather than #. Given that the illustrator appears to have had access to **A**, it seems possible that the music scribe had an exemplar not far removed from that manuscript, though not **A** itself.

8.2.3.2 The Cambrai Fragments

These are among the earliest extant French sources of Machaut's music outside his collected works manuscripts, being the gathered remains of at least four manuscripts

²⁵ This has been dated partly through its inclusion of a poem by Alain Chartier, *La Belle dame sans merci*, written c1424, but also through Avril's dating of its illuminations to 1425-30 (Avril 1982a, 129-30).

²⁶ Dömling 1969, 194

²⁷ Machaut, ed. Leech-Wilkinson 1998, xciv

dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The arrangement of the fragments into groups of common origin has varied according to successive studies: Ludwig's initial ordering²⁸ was revised somewhat by Margaret Hasselman,²⁹ while more recently Irmgard Lerch³⁰ re-examined this source (in particular the newer material initially reported by David Fallows)³¹ to reach different conclusions on the relation of the fragments to one another. Hasselman's grouping of the fragments was as follows: **CaB₁**, f.1-7, consisting of motets; **CaB₂**, f.8-15, containing chansons; **CaB₃**, f.16, also consisting of chansons (Lerch saw this as a continuation of **CaB₂**); and **CaC**, f.17-18. Hasselman suggested that the fragments were copied before 1360, though Lerch placed them up to twenty years later.

The section which Hasselman termed **CaB₁** contained thirteen Latin and French motets and two liturgical settings, employing the two-column layout typical of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century motet collections. All but one of the motets, which include Machaut's *Qui es promesses/ Hay fortune/ Et non est qui adjuvet* (M8)³² and three of Philippe de Vitry's most widely transmitted works,³³ have concordances principally with **Iv**, probably c1380, and **Trém**. This repertoire is typical of motet books of the later fourteenth century, and indicates that older works remained in performance – perhaps at the expense of later, more complex ones – particularly in provincial regions.

CaB₂, which includes *Se vous n'estes*, contains thirty-one chansons, the majority of which are *unica*; Hasselman classed many of these as polyphonic virelais. Orthography suggests that **CaB₂** originated in Northern France or Picardy; the use of *ch* where standard French would write only *c* is typical.³⁴ Other than *Se vous n'estes*, the few chansons here with concordances are *De petit peu* (B18), Pierre de Molins' *De ce*

²⁸ Ludwig 1926, 20*-21*

²⁹ Hasselman 1970, 17-18

³⁰ Lerch 1987

³¹ Fallows 1976

³² Earp has examined the repertory sources of this work (Earp 1983, 327-341).

³³ These are *Cum statua/ Hugo/ Magister invidie, Vos quid admiramini/ Gratissima Contratenor/Gaude gloriosa* and *Colla iugo/ Bona condit/ Libera me*. Also in the manuscript are *Floret/Florens/Neuma* – attributed by some to Vitry – and the anonymous motets *Apta caro/ Flos Alma redemptoris, Les l'ormel/Main se leva/Je n'y s'andrai plus*, and *Flos ortus/ Celsa/ Quam magnus*.

³⁴ Examples are *Alons comenchie la feste* and *Pour che que je ne puis mie*.

que fol pense, the anonymous *Quiconques veut* (found in **Trém.**, **Iv**, **FP** and **Pit**) and *Or tost assez vous assemble* (**Ch** and **PR**). The readings here display a strong predilection for adding original voices to existing compositions, particularly tripla: *Quiconques veut* is given a unique triplum, while *De ce que fol pense* appears twice among these fragments, once (**CaB₃**) with a triplum part also found in **PR**, and a second time (**CaC**) with a different, unique triplum.³⁵ *De petit peu* appears not only with Machaut's triplum, but with two different contratenors.³⁶

The accidentals in **CaB₂**'s reading of *Se vous n'estes* remain similar to those in the central Machaut manuscripts, though perhaps closer to **C**, **A** and **G** than to **VgB** or **E**. Cantus sharps in particular are very close to **C**, **A** and **G**, though the B-flat signatures found in the latter are not visible here. Similarly, tenor accidentals are very similar to the Machaut manuscripts, though there are minor changes in (horizontal) positioning. The contratenor part, which Ludwig identified as that appearing in **E**,³⁷ was unfortunately illegible on the available microfilm, while only a small part of the triplum can be read; nevertheless, enough can be discerned to suggest that it was intended as an alternative voice to the contratenor rather than as part of a four-part reading: dissonances and parallel octaves result, as **Ex. 8.3** illustrates. For instance, the triplum and contratenor on the third crotchet of b.31 create a major second:

Ex. 8.3 R7, b.30-32, **CaB** with triplum

However, even in the scoring cantus-tenor-triplum, prominent dissonances occur, such as that at the start of b.32 between triplum and tenor; this may suggest that it was the work of an inexperienced composer, though it is also possible that the poor state of the manuscript may have compromised the transcription. The number of additional voices among the fragments suggests that there was a local tradition of performing and possibly

³⁵ **CaB**'s triplum to *De ce que fol pense* also appears somewhat dissonant, though again the issue is clouded by the illegibility of the source: editions by Apel (*CMM* LIII:1, 159-161) and Greene (*PAMFC* XIX, No.89) differ in their transcription of the triplum.

³⁶ Hasselman 1970, 26. Unlike *Se vous n'estes*, not all of these additions appear to be alternatives.

³⁷ Ludwig 1926, 57

composing them; the provenance of R7's triplum seems, therefore, more likely to have been linked to **CaB**'s other added voices than to Machaut.

8.2.3.3 The Tongeren Fragments

While the Tongeren fragments (discovered in the binding of an account book of 1439), may have been cut from separate rotuli, Karl Kügle has suggested on palaeographic grounds that they had a similar provenance, likening the hands to those of the Machaut manuscripts **A** and **Vg**, and also to the main hand of **Trém**: he described them as having been copied "in a calligraphic style fashionable in Parisian workshops during the 1370s."³⁸ The fragments, the principal concordances of which are found in Netherlands sources such as the Ghent Fragments, contain nine *unica*, plus the anonymous rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer* (which survives in a number of 'lateral' sources)³⁹ and *Se vous n'estes*. Variants in this reading of R7 are comparable to those of other early sources **E**, **CaB** and **Gt**, while Kügle also noted similarities to **FP** and **Pg**:

"The readings of B-TOa 490 do not align themselves with those found in the Machaut manuscripts compiled during the composer's lifetime ... Rather, the version of B-TOa 490 (rotulus A) matches the later and more peripheral sources, such as I-Fn 26, CS-Pu XI.E.9 and ... MachE ... This suggests that the compilers of B-TOa 490 (rotulus A) obtained the setting from a pool of Ars Nova chansons circulating in northern Europe and Italy during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, rather than directly from Machaut or his immediate environment."⁴⁰

Se vous n'estes appears in **Tg** scored for cantus and tenor only; a contratenor may have been lost, or may never have existed. Like **CaB**'s reading of R7, **Tg**'s accidentals are broadly similar to those in the Machaut sources, though not to any particular manuscript; however, cautionary accidentals are notated, particularly in **Tg**'s cantus [Ex. 8.4], which do not appear elsewhere:

Ex. 8.4 R7, cantus b.22-25, **Tg**

³⁸ Kügle *et al* 1994, 484

³⁹ See 213n42, below

⁴⁰ Kügle 1994, 481

Fewer accidentals are visible in the tenor: what appears to be an unclear \flat -f in b.32 may rather have been an erased \sharp -f, since the descending line requires F-natural.

8.2.3.4 The Ghent Fragments

The Ghent fragments are, similarly, the remains of more than one manuscript:⁴¹ the two sources, now in the Ghent Rijksarchief, were both used as binding material for later documents. B-Gr 133 was discovered in the Abbey of the Groenen Briel, and appears to have been part of a *liber motetorum* in which, as in the Ivrea Codex, the staves remaining beneath motets and mass movements were filled with secular works.⁴² The second, more substantial source, B-Gr 3360 (**Gt**), was found in the Abbey Ter Haeghen, and was evidently taken from a chansonnier: it contains French-texted songs with concordances among Italian and Germanic sources, such as ballades *Je languis d'amere mort*, *Se Lancelos* and *Je fortune*, and the virelai *Or sus, vous dormes trop*.⁴³ Strohm has described the fragments as belonging to:

“the small remainders of ‘repertory manuscripts’ containing the simpler types of Ars Nova music; it is from here that this music was later distributed. As compared with the transmission of the ‘central’ repertory, which circulated within Paris, Avignon, Foix, Aragon and parts of Northern Italy, the ‘international’ repertory had a strange kind of ‘lateral’ transmission, reaching the North, East and South without crossing France.”⁴⁴

⁴¹ A facsimile is given in Schreuers 1995.

⁴² B-Gr 133's readings of two chansons (the rondeau *Espirance qui en mon cuer* and virelai *Dame par vos douche plaisir*) include unique voices: *Espirance* here has the only extant triplum for this song, as well as a substantially altered contratenor, while *Dame* has a new, dissonant triplum as well as unique contratenor, rather after the fashion of those found in the Cambrai Fragments. *Espirance*, f.1v-2r in Ghent, was particularly widespread in anthologies: it appears in **Pit**, **Str**, **Pg**, A-VO 380 and GB-Cu 5943. *Dame* is also found in **PR**, and in **Pg** with the text “Scone es si boven allen vrouwen”. Strohm suggested that the reading of *Dame par vos* was “probably a local arrangement” (Strohm 1984, 114).

⁴³ Parts of the cantus and tenor of *Je languis* are present on f.1v of **Gt**; Strohm suggests that a contratenor could have been copied on the (now missing) facing page (Strohm 1984, 116). The song appears in seven other sources: **PR**, **Pit**, **FP**, **Pg**, **Str**, CH-Bst and **PadA**. The only known concordance for *Se Lancelos* (here found on f.2v, for cantus, tenor and contratenor) is in the index of **Trém**; *Je fortune* (on f.2v, for cantus, tenor and contratenor) is also found in **Pit**, **Pg** and **Str**. *Or sus, vous dormes trop* survives in this source (f.1v) as a fragmentary cantus and tenor only: further readings are found in **Iv**, **PR**, **Pit**, **Lo**, **Trém**, **Fa**, and the Padua fragments.

⁴⁴ Strohm 1984, 119

He further suggested that **Gt** (the chansonnier) dated from 1390-1400.⁴⁵ and B-Gr 133 from slightly later, perhaps 1390.⁴⁶ Only the cantus and tenor of B18 appear in this source – both are poorly legible – and Strohm has suggested that the layout of the voices indicated that there was no contratenor, “but perhaps a triplum on the preceding page”:⁴⁷ a reading for two voices seems unusual for a source of this date and provenance, and would be more typical of later sources such as **Pg**.

Of R7, the tenor and contratenor survive in **Gt**, the contratenor once again being fundamentally that of **E**. Minor variants are found in both voices: for example, the tenor rhythm at b.30 is altered:

Ex. 8.5 R7, tenor, b.6-11, **Vg** and **Gt**

At b.13 of the contratenor, a conventional decorative figure is inserted – suggesting a substitution, perhaps made by performers, of a figure very common in Machaut’s music:⁴⁸

Ex. 8.6 R7, contratenor, b.13-14 **Vg** and **Gt**

The only accidentals legible in this reading are found in the contratenor, and resemble **E**’s – though where **E** aligns a sharp at the wrong pitch (b.17), it is correctly placed in **Gt**:

Ex. 8.7 R7, Contratenor, b.16-20, **Gt** and **E**

The nature of these variants indicates sources not far removed from Machaut’s own, with careful notation of accidentals, and few evident errors: sources from the

⁴⁵ Strohm 1993, 75

⁴⁶ Ibid., 68. The orthography of both fragments indicated a Flemish scribe (for instance, ‘Pariis’ for ‘Paris’), though Strohm pointed out that B-Gr 133 also contains some spellings characteristic of Picardy.

⁴⁷ Strohm 1984, 116

⁴⁸ A similar example is given in Ex. 7.12, 182.

Netherlands, of which these may be seen as typical, represent an ‘intermediate’ stage between the Machaut manuscripts and later readings found in Italian sources.

8.2.3.5 The Panciatichi Codex

The contratenor found in **E** and **Gt** also appears in a later Italian source, **FP**. This collection of Italian songs, copied c1400, contains a number of French works added to fill in the final pages and the spaces left beneath other works. Five of these are by Machaut – R7, B18, B25, B31 and *En amer*: their readings are generally close to those of the main Machaut manuscripts, but add a number of unique cautionary accidentals, suggesting that they were copied for fifteenth-century Italian performers who were not so familiar with this style. However, the scribe or editor must have had a thorough knowledge of the treatment of unwritten inflections in order to have added these accidentals; this may indicate a musician with a connection to the Low Countries. These additions are particularly noticeable in **FP**’s reading of *Honte, paour* (B25),⁴⁹ which notates many inflections that trained fourteenth-century singers would make as a matter of course; more accidentals are notated in **FP**’s cantus and tenor than in any of the Machaut sources, while the contratenor contains twice as many.

Fewer additional cautionary accidentals are found in **FP**’s reading of *Se vous n’estes* than in that of *Honte, paour* – possibly because R7’s directed progressions are less ‘concentrated’ than those of B25, and may have presented fewer challenges to performers. The notated accidentals are similar both to **E**’s reading and to the Netherlands sources already mentioned, though fewer appear in **FP**’s contratenor than in **E**’s. However, the cantus and tenor of **FP** are closer to the central Machaut manuscripts than to **E**, with no pitch variants in the cantus, although the tenor rhythm is altered at b.6-7, as in **Gt**,⁵⁰ these similarities reinforce suggestions that the French chansons found in Italian sources might have arrived there via the Netherlands.

⁴⁹ Discussed below, 227

⁵⁰ B31 also contains a variant of the contratenor at b.31, again as in **Gt**.

8.2.3.6 The Modena Manuscript

The Modena manuscript is in some respects less typical of Italian sources of this period: nearly a third of its works are attributed to Matteo da Perugia, and two separate additional voices are also ascribed to him, while three more – of which the contratenor for *Se vous n'estes* is one – “can be attributed to him with great certainty” on stylistic grounds.⁵¹ Matteo da Perugia was employed as a singer at Milan Cathedral from c1402 to 1407, and again 1414-1416, spending the intervening years in the service of the Archbishop of Milan, Pietro Filargo, at Pavia;⁵² he died c1418. His works appear in only two sources, the majority surviving in **ModA**, though three substitute contratenors also appear in the Parma fragments.

Matteo da Perugia was clearly familiar with Machaut's music and poetry: his ballade *Se je me plaing* includes quotations from both the text of Machaut's B15 and the music of B23.⁵³ However, certain of his works are closer to the style of the fifteenth-century chanson, in which tenor and contratenor created a more homophonic ‘accompaniment’ to the cantus than was customary in works of the Ars nova or late fourteenth century. The contratenors of his own works reflect these changes of style, varying in style as the songs do: that of Matteo's *Se je me plaing*, for example, is similar to Machaut's contratenors, while those of later works, such as *Pres du soloil* or *A qui fortune*, are smoother in melodic outline, and more static in their rhythm.⁵⁴

However, Matteo appears to have had a penchant for providing ostentatious contratenors to existing music, as Strohm has noted.⁵⁵ These either gave a three-part scoring to a previously two-part work, or were substitutes for existing contratenors: the latter was not an unusual practice in repertory sources, though such voices were not often ascribed to their authors. The majority of works for which he wrote contratenors

⁵¹ Günther 1970, 23

⁵² Ibid., 25

⁵³ Günther has examined the phenomenon of musical and textual quotation in “Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior” (Günther 1972).

⁵⁴ Editions of Matteo's French-texted works are given in *CMM* LIII: 1.

⁵⁵ Strohm described Matteo as “an eclectic whose speciality seems to have been complicated contratenors ... – perhaps for his own use as a singer” (Strohm 1993, 61).

dated from the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries – these were Bartolino da Padova's *El non me zova*, Anthonello de Caserta's *Piu chiar qu'el sole*, Johannes Ciconia's *Lizadra donna*, Pierre Fontaine's *Pour vous tenir en la grace* and Nicolas Grenon's *Je ne requier de ma dame*. However, *Se vous n'estes* was a considerably earlier work, and it is a testament to its popularity that it was being revised for new performances over fifty years after its composition.

ModA's contratenor appears in the first gathering of the manuscript, isolated from the rest of the song. Its melodic outline is wide-ranging and contains an unusual number of wide leaps, principally sevenths and ninths; while Machaut's contratenors do use such intervals, they tend to occur at a rest or at a cadential point (typically, up a major seventh from C to B, as a leading note to C an octave above). Its rhythm is characterised by repeated anacruses which feature neither in the cantus, the tenor nor the more widely distributed contratenor:

Ex. 8.8 R7, b.25-31, with **ModA** contratenor

By frequently cutting beneath the tenor, **ModA**'s contratenor fundamentally alters the harmonic language of Machaut's rondeau, even creating a sustained discord of a fourth in b.9, and omitting the imitative phrase of b.9 found at this point in **E**, **Gt** and **FP**:

Ex. 8.9 R7, b.7-11, with **ModA** contratenor

In b.32-33, **ModA** supplies *ouvert* and *clos* endings (not provided in either of the other voices): while the *ouvert* is unexceptional, echoing the contratenor found in other repertory sources, the *clos* contains an extra G breve. This appears to have been added in an attempt to bring the rondeau back to the G-d sonority on which **ModA**'s reading opens, rather than the D-d sonority found in the Machaut manuscripts and other repertory sources:

Ex. 8.10 R7, b.32-33 in **Vg** and **ModA**

(The *ouvert* and *clos* endings are shown thus in the manuscript.) It might be suggested that the notated augmented fourth in the contratenor at b.20-21, C-natural to F-sharp, was typical of Machaut (and may even have been used for that reason), in itself if not in its context; however, Machaut's were generally more elegantly resolved, as the openings of B19 and B38 demonstrate.⁵⁶

R7's contratenor might be compared with other substitute contratenors in **ModA**, for example that written for Nicolas Grenon's *Je ne requier* (marked *contratenorem mathay de p[er]usio*).⁵⁷ Like Machaut's rondeau, *Je ne requier* was originally for two voices. The style of this contratenor has something in common with that of *Se vous n'estes*, containing disjunct leaps and particularly sevenths; however, despite its frequent cutting below the tenor, the contrapuntal structure of Grenon's song is less drastically altered by the addition of its contratenor than *Se vous n'estes*. The rhythm of *Je ne requier*'s contratenor remains in keeping with that of its tenor, unlike Machaut's rondeau.

Accidentals in the cantus and tenor of **ModA** are broadly similar to those in **FP**, though slightly fewer; this might indicate that the manuscript was intended for performers familiar with this style. However, the addition of a sharp in another hand at the final cadence [Ex. 8.11] suggests that this was not always the case, and that performers did, at some stage, need more information than they could infer from the notated accidentals:

Ex. 8.11 R7, cantus, b.30-33, **Vg** and **ModA**

⁵⁶ See 81, above.

⁵⁷ Part of the text of this ballade survives in **ParmaA** (233v), an early-fifteenth century source which contains three more of Matteo's contratenors; *Je ne requier* was also included in **Str**, apparently for two voices (as No. 170), and appears in **Esc** (E-MO 823), f.10v-11r. The appearance of *Je ne requier* in **ModA**, even as one of the later additions, has implications for its dating: Günther has speculated that Matteo might have learnt the piece at the Council of Constance (Günther 1970, 46).

If **ModA** was indeed the collection of Matteo da Perugia – a skilled composer who clearly knew Machaut’s music – he might not have thought it necessary to notate many accidentals, even in works as old as R7.

ModA also contains B18, B31 and B35. B18 is discussed below;⁵⁸ B35 is found in **PR** as well as **ModA**, though in line with the majority of the Machaut manuscripts. **ModA**’s reading notates no accidentals. The reading here of B31, however, is unique in marking an E-flat signature at the start of the tenor, as well as a two-flat signature for the contratenor, since no other source gives a \flat -e in any voice until b.9: generally, however, this version notates a similar number of accidentals to **FP**, and somewhat fewer than the Machaut manuscripts.

Se vous n’estes is also contained in **SL**, in the prevailing Italian scoring of cantus, tenor and contratenor, though further details are not currently available.⁵⁹

8.2.3.7 The Strasbourg and Prague manuscripts

Finally, R7 appears in two late, related sources, both typifying Strohm’s ‘lateral’ transmission. **Str** was most probably copied in Strasbourg, c1415-20: although the manuscript itself is now lost, Edmond de Coussemaker’s index gave incipits of each work.⁶⁰ The related manuscript **Pg** contains a reading of *Se vous n’estes* for two voices; also copied in Strasbourg at around the same time, the manuscript is a collection of songs from France and the Netherlands dating from the second half of the fourteenth century and including B18, and Pierre de Molins’ *Amis tout dous* listed as *Di molen van Pariis*.⁶¹ **Pg**’s reading of *Se vous n’estes* gives very few accidentals; of the text, only an incipit has been retained, and, typically of this source, there is no attribution. Since texts

⁵⁸ See 220, below

⁵⁹ Of **SL** there is little information at present with regard to its notation of French music, though John Nádas has examined the Italian works it contains (Nádas 1985 and 1992); a facsimile is in preparation.

⁶⁰ Reproduced in Vander Linden 1972

⁶¹ Strohm 1993, 121. Kammerer, the editor of **Pr**, suggested that since **Pr** contained a number of songs with texts from the Low Countries the manuscript may have been the conflation of two sources, **Str** and an unspecified Dutch source (Kammerer 1931, 18).

were generally reduced to sometimes garbled incipits, it seems most likely that these readings were intended for instrumental performance.

8.2.4 *De petit peu* (B18)

Approaching *Se vous n'estes* in the breadth of its transmission, *De petit peu* first appeared early in the second part of Machaut's manuscript C (following the lais, V25, V28 and B17). All readings in the Machaut manuscripts are scored for cantus, tenor and triplum; a tenor and fragments of a cantus have survived in Gt, one of the earliest repertory sources, with Strohm suggesting that "there was probably no contratenor but perhaps a triplum on the preceding page".⁶² Gt's tenor begins with a B-flat signature, as is the case for most repertory readings on this work; however, where accidentals are visible, fewer are notated than in the Machaut sources; other minor variants, such as ligatures, can also be discerned.

B18 also appears in CaB, Ch, FP and Pit, scored for cantus, tenor and contratenor:⁶³ the contratenor features repeated leaps and figuration (such as b.3-4). In such concentration they do not appear typical of Machaut's contratenor writing, although they are reminiscent of that found in repertory sources of B23. This voice also creates parallels or unisons with the tenor (at b.2 and b.5); although these characteristics do not entirely rule out an attribution to Machaut, they cast doubt upon one, while other features, such as the figuration in b.29, are also atypical. Two unusual inflections occur in b.31-32 in this contratenor, where a B-flat moves to B-natural, with a single 'A' intervening in this chromatic semitone:

Ex. 8.12 *De petit peu* (B18), b.29-35, C and FP

⁶² Strohm 1984, 116

⁶³ As noted above, the Cambrai fragments add two contratenors, neither of which is legible.

These accidentals are notated in **Ch** and **FP**⁶⁴ – though not in **Pit**, which tends to notate fewer in its reading of B18. By contrast, **FP** adds cautionary accidentals to both tenor and cantus which are not found elsewhere:

Ex. 8.13 *De petit peu* (B18), b.24-28, **FP**

Alone among the repertory sources of this ballade, **ModA** gives all four voices (cantus, tenor, contratenor and triplum), suggesting that its compiler had access to a source not generally available; while it is conceivable that all three other sources had access to the triplum, which they all chose not to copy, it seems unlikely. **ModA**'s scoring also raises the question of whether the work was intended to be performed in four parts: it appears not, as such a performance results in numerous dissonances. (For example, on the first beat of b.6 the triplum has e against the contratenor's D, while in b.11, the contratenor has g against a triplum a'.) This source also notates a number of unique cautionary accidentals, in the triplum (which do not appear in the Machaut manuscripts) and in the contratenor:

Ex. 8.14 (a) B18, triplum, b.22-25, **Vg** and **ModA**
 (b) B18, triplum, b.37-40, **Vg** and **ModA**

Additional cautionary accidentals are also found in **ModA**'s contratenor – the #-b and #-f in **Ex. 8.15** are both unique to this source:

Ex. 8.15 B18, contratenor, b.23-29, **ModA**

Lastly, B18 appears in **Pg** for two voices, in a form similar to that manuscript's reading of *Se vous n'estes*; this notates only two accidentals throughout its reading.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ A complete list of **FP**'s 'additional' accidentals – not found in the Machaut manuscripts – is: Cantus: 25 # CB/ 27 ♭-e DE/ 32 ♭-e D; Tenor 16 ♭-e G [*clos*]/ 21 ♭-e C/ 25 ♭-e/ 38 #-f F

⁶⁵ B18's tenor and contratenor also survive in the fragment D-Nst 25 (*RISM* B IV², 83).

8.3 French-Italian Sources

8.3.1 The Chantilly Codex: *De fortune me doy plaindre* (B23)

While some sources can be defined in terms of nationality, the cultural traffic between Italy and France produced not only manuscripts of French music copied in Italy, but also French music copied by Italian scribes working in French-speaking areas. The most significant example of the latter is the Chantilly Codex, the repertoire of which provides strong links to the courts of Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix and Béarn (1343-91), and John of Aragon: chansons and motets dedicated to both these patrons are found in the manuscript, as are complex motets connected with the Papal Court at Avignon. The manuscript, dating largely from the late fourteenth century, contains ninety-nine chansons followed by thirteen motets; most are French in form and text, as were many of their composers. These compositions were written largely between c1350 and 1395, encompassing older works by Machaut, Pierre de Molins and Jean Vaillant, as well as those of the *Ars subtilior*. Although the manuscript is strongly linked by its repertoire to southern France, the six-line stave suggests that its principal scribe, who copied all but a few folios added in the early fifteenth century, was Italian: this is supported by the “elegant but incorrect hand ... obviously unfamiliar with the material copied”.⁶⁶

Ch contains Machaut’s B34, B18 and B23. The latter appears in both **E** and **PR** with a contratenor not found in the other Machaut sources; this appears, from dissonances created in a four-part performance, to have been an alternative to the triplum rather than an additional part – its problematic nature even in three-part performance has been discussed in the previous chapter. **Ch**, however, presents a marked variation on this contratenor, while retaining its cadential points and its opening phrases – including, for instance, the dissonant intervals at b.12. Very few accidentals

⁶⁶ Günther 1980, 663

are visible in this manuscript (as Ludwig had noted),⁶⁷ and it is probable that it was intended for highly skilled singers familiar with such styles. The complexity of B34, a work not widespread in repertory sources, may be the reason for its inclusion in **Ch**, given this manuscript's repertoire of Ars subtilior works; the inclusion of *Armes amours*, a lament on the death of Machaut, also demonstrates an interest in the composer on the part of **Ch**'s compiler.

Other repertory sources of B23 include the Reina Codex,⁶⁸ which gives essentially the same contratenor as **E** with minor variants, and **SL**, in which only the cantus survives. Compared with **Ch**'s accidentals, **PR**'s are numerous, often marked at cadential points – points at which, say, Parisian singers circa 1370 would be unlikely to have needed a reminder of the correct inflection. The presence in b.5's cantus of a '#-d' (for #-c), in a different hand **Ex. 8.16**, indicates that further annotations may have been necessary for performers:

Ex. 8.16 B23, cantus, b.4-6, **PR**

Generally, fewer accidentals are notated in **PR** than in the central Machaut manuscripts – none are given in the tenor – and some are notated inaccurately.

B23 also appeared in the late sources **Str** and **Pm**. Despite the latter's close connection to **A**, **Pm**'s reading gives only two voices, where **A** has three: again, this suggests that **Pm** was an abbreviated collection of Machaut's best-known works. Accidentals are sparingly marked in this source, and, as already noted in **Pm**, less accurately than in **A**: for example, '#-b' is notated for #-c. Also typically of this source, # is occasionally written as \flat :

Ex. 8.17 B23, b.1-6, **Pm**

⁶⁷ Ludwig 1926, 27: "**Ch** schreibt im Tenor (wie im Cantus und Contratenor) gar keine Alterationen." [**Ch** gives in the tenor (as in the cantus and contratenor) no accidentals at all.]

⁶⁸ Ludwig noted that **PR** also contained an anonymous reworking of the refrain of B23 (*Dame qui fust si tres bien assenee*) on f.56v, further evidence of interest in Machaut's music at this time. (B23 itself is on f.64v).

Given these variants, it appears very unlikely that the music scribe had had direct access to **A** itself: since text copying, music copying and illumination all constituted separate stages in manuscript production, this need not be considered unusual.

8.3.2 The Ivrea Codex: *Dix et sept* (R17)

The Ivrea Codex could be classed as a French-Italian source. Until recently thought to be one of the earlier fourteenth-century manuscripts,⁶⁹ Karl Kügle's recent study has advanced the date of Ivrea's copying to the 1380s, also suggesting that its repertory (which includes Machaut's R17) linked it to Northern France or the Southern Netherlands: its closest concordances occur in **Trém** and **CaB**.⁷⁰ The scribal hand and orthography appear to indicate that the codex was copied either in south-eastern France, possibly in Savoy, or by a French scribe working in Italy, maybe in Ivrea itself.⁷¹

Iv is one of the few fourteenth-century examples of the *liber motetorum* to survive substantially intact. Typically of this format, the greater part of each opening was taken up by a motet or mass movement, while remaining staves at the foot of the pages were filled in with secular chansons; the choice of song was to some degree affected by the amount of available space. In **Iv**, however, care was taken in several cases to link a song to the accompanying motet through the subject of the text, as Kügle has pointed out: for example, the chanson copied beneath Machaut's motet *Amors/ Faus semblans/ Tenor* (f.20v) is the rondeau by Matheus de Sancto Johanne, *Fortune fause*. Similarly, the motet *Almifonis/ Rosa/ Tenor* (f.11v-12v) is followed by the anonymous

⁶⁹ Besseler gave a date of around 1356 for the main body of the motets, the chansons being added during the 1360s or 1370 (Besseler 1925, 194).

⁷⁰ Kügle cited in particular the motet *Apollinis/ Zodiacum*, also included in the index of **Trém**; this lists the Northern French composers Machaut, Philippe de Vitry, Matheus de Sancto Johanne and Henricus Egidius de Pusiex. He further suggested that "the collection acquires not only a distinctly Parisian flavour, but also one that can be associated, above all, with the Valois Court." (Kügle 1997, 55). Ursula Günther had suggested that the manuscript might have been compiled for Gaston Fébus.

⁷¹ Kügle traced records so far as to be able to suggest the identities of the two principal scribes, Savoyards working at Ivrea Cathedral: Jehan de Pellicier was employed as a cantor there from 1376, while his assistant, the notary Jacometus de ecclesia, was appointed in 1384 (Kügle 1997, 61-66).

rondeau *Rose sans per.*⁷² Ivrea's thirty-seven motets include Machaut's M8, M15 and M19, as well as Philippe de Vitry's *Impudenter/ Virtutibus/ Tenor*.

Iv's secular works were added by someone other than the two principal scribes, and at a later date; they encompass *chaces*⁷³ and two multi-texted songs,⁷⁴ as well as two of the more popular songs of the second half of the fourteenth century: Pierre de Molins' *Amis, tout dous*, which survives in six other sources,⁷⁵ and the virelai *Or sus, vous dormes trop.*⁷⁶ R17, on the contrary, has not survived in any other repertory source. **Iv**'s reading of R17 is relatively faithful to that of the central Machaut manuscripts (excluding **E**, in which only cantus and tenor are given); the one scribal error, a substitution of a B-C ligature in b. 24 of the contratenor for C-D, appears to have resulted from the scribe's copying a similar, recurring figure in b.3. This phrase is consistently notated with a #-b to ensure that a major seventh is sung in each case [Ex. 8.18], although only the earliest of these had been marked in the Machaut sources:

Ex. 8.18 *Dix et sept* (R17), tenor, b.20-23, **Iv**

Ivrea's sharps appear to have been added to clarify this interval for the performer. In some cases, this might be because the intended singers were unfamiliar with the repertoire; given the Machaut motets found in **Iv**, however, this may not be the case. Comparison with other widely disseminated works in the manuscript reveals no scribal tendency towards particular variants, which may indicate that these sharps were already present in the exemplar. This accords with Kügle's observation about the varying accidental-shapes throughout the manuscript:

⁷² Ibid., 130n92.

⁷³ The *chaces* *Talent m'es pris*, *Umblement vos pri merchi* and *Se je chant* are also found in **Iv**; these are among the earliest secular forms of the fourteenth century, predating the *formes fixes*. *Se je chant* must also predate 1349 – and possibly 1340 – since it is quoted by Machaut in the refrain of the ballade *Pour ce que tous mes chans fais* (B12), which is included in the ordered section of **C**.

⁷⁴ These are of the type identified by Hasselman as a stage in the development from motet to chanson – *L'amoureuse flour/En l'estat/Tenor* – f.59v-60r (also in **Trém**) and *Clap, clap/Sus, Robin/Tenor*, f.60v (Hasselman 1970, 127ff).

⁷⁵ *Amis* is included in **Trém**, **Pit**, **Str** (two versions), the Cortona and Grottaferata fragments, and **Pg**.

⁷⁶ *Or, sus* survives in **Gt**, **Pit**, **PR**, **Lo**, **PadA**, **Str** (in which it was given a Latin *contrafactum*), **Fa** and, in white notation, in the late fifteenth-century fragment DK-Kk 17.

“While flats are drawn in the same manner throughout the manuscript, sharps can take various forms, presumably reflecting the patterns of the exemplars.”

8.4 Italian Sources

8.4.1 The Reina Codex: *Il m'est avis* (B22)

In addition to B23, discussed above, **PR** contains Machaut's ballades 22, 31 and 35. The notation of accidentals in the French-texted works is generally sparser than that of **FP** or of sources copied in the Low Countries, as has already been noted regarding B23; there is, however, a wide variation even within the Machaut chansons here, as **PR**'s reading of *Il m'est avis* (B22) illustrates. While Reina gives a unique contratenor for this work, the single notated accidental is a B-flat signature at the start of the cantus, which also appears in the Machaut manuscripts. If the Machaut chansons here were all the work of a single music scribe – which is by no means certain⁷⁸ – then the exemplar for this work, and maybe also the similarly notated B34 (see above), may have been anomalous in its notation of accidentals; although B35 is notated with no accidentals here, it cannot necessarily be classed with B34 and B22, since readings in **Vg**, **B**, **A** and **G** likewise notate no accidentals. A brief comparison with other songs of the “international repertory”, such as *Je languis d'amere mort* (f.70v), *Or sus vous dormes trop* (f.78-79) or *Jour a jour la vie* (f.66r) shows that fewer accidentals were notated in **PR** than, for instance, in **Tg**, **Gt** or the highly prescriptive **FP** – but not so few as in **PR**'s readings of B22 or B34.

What can be said is that **PR** had a clear tendency to include additional or alternative voices in this repertoire: not only did it add a contratenor (found nowhere else) to B22, and another to B23 (the latter also appearing in **E**): tripla are provided for *Jour a jour*, *De ce que fols pense* and *Je languis* – this last being marked *tripulum quem*

⁷⁷ Kügle 1997, 12 (with table on 15-16)

⁷⁸ Nádas noted corrections in another hand to the French repertoire in **PR** (Nádas 1987, 106).

fecit petrus de vigilijs.⁷⁹ Moreover, throughout these gatherings of chansons, signatures are often notated in a typical fifteenth-century ‘two-flat’ form: this might indicate that the scribe or scribes were largely faithful to their exemplars, and that a very small proportion of these exemplars was, for whatever reason, notated with nearly no accidentals – at which point it may be recalled that Prosdocimus de Beldomandis wrote in 1412, “Concerning *musica ficta*, it is necessary to know first of all that it is never to be applied except where necessary.”⁸⁰

8.4.2 The Panciatichi Codex: *Honte, paour* (B25)

While the Panciatichi Codex has already been discussed in connection with the very widely transmitted *Se vous n'estes*, this source contains other works by Machaut – *De petit peu* (B18), *De toutes flours* (B31), *En amer*, and the less widespread *Honte paour* (B25).⁸¹ All of these, with the exception of B31's contratenor, were copied by one scribe.⁸² Nádas has suggested that the repertoire of this manuscript was intended for an extremely restricted audience, perhaps consisting primarily of composers; given the importance of French music and literature in Italian culture, it might be suggested that these and other French works in this source had been copied in deference to this fashion. However, the very marked variants found in **FP** must indicate that these readings were intended for performance; numerous cautionary accidentals are notated which are unique to this source, and which markedly outnumber those in the Machaut manuscripts. This has already been noted with regard to B18, in which a contratenor was substituted for Machaut's triplum; while few variants could be found in the cantus and tenor (with the exception of a number of repeated pitches, instead notated as syncopations).

⁷⁹ This triplum has numerous accidentals marked, where the other voices do not: unless Petrus was also the scribe, this most probably reflects the notation of the exemplar. Leach has noted that this triplum does not give a satisfactory four-part work when performed with the contratenor (Leach 1997, 352).

⁸⁰ Trans. Herlinger 1984, 70-75

⁸¹ These are found on the following folios: B25, f.76; *En amer*, f.97; B31, f.99v; B18, f.100r; R7, f.100

⁸² Nádas 1981, 408-9

cautionary accidentals were added to emphasise contrapuntal progressions. These accidentals give every appearance of having been added to provide the correct inflections for performers, who may have been unfamiliar with this repertoire, or may not have received sufficient training.

Honte, paour was not so widely transmitted as B18, perhaps because of its chromatic nature (resulting from the concentration of directed progressions); the evident interest shown by this compiler or scribe in the more chromatic aspects of fourteenth-century French music might be the reason for its inclusion here. A remarkable number of cautionary accidentals was added to this reading: while both cantus and tenor were given more accidentals than in the Machaut manuscripts, the contratenor received twice as many; in addition to this, **FP** notated consistent ‘two-flat’ signatures. **Ex. 8.19** compares part of **Vg**’s contratenor with **FP**’s:

Ex. 8.19 B25, b.18-24, contratenors in **Vg** and **FP**

On the question of ‘fixed transmission’, which Nádas raised in relation to Italian repertoire in manuscripts such as this, it seems clear that while the scribe or editor made no attempt to change the *reading* of this ballade – on the contrary, a great effort was made to preserve the ‘authentic’ mid-fourteenth-century inflections – the notation of Machaut’s music in this manuscript was anything but ‘fixed’: on the contrary, it was carefully adapted to the needs of fifteenth-century performers probably unfamiliar with the composer’s musical language.

8.4.3 Manuscript F-Pn. 568 (Pit): *En amer*

As in the case of **FP**, the French repertoire in **Pit** was added after the main copying of Italian works had been completed; as its index shows, the manuscript was copied in stages between c1400 and 1430, possibly in Lucca. Apparently intended to be

a collection of Trecento polyphony, “the collection quickly changed into an up-to-date Florentine source, with a decided emphasis on the works of Francesco Landini and Paolo Tenorista. The source also included the most widely circulated French songs then current in the city.”⁸³ As Nádas also noted, the French repertoire in **Pit** was essentially that found in many Italian manuscripts; the Machaut works, none attributed, are *De toutes flours* (f.120v), *En amer* (f.122) and *De petit peu* (f.124v), all in readings for three voices. While **Pit** notates fewer accidentals than **FP**, more are given than in **PR**’s readings: **Pit**’s accidentals are frequently positioned earlier than in other sources, although this should probably be attributed to scribal habit. This can be seen in *En amer*:

Ex. 8.20 *En amer*, cantus, b.17-20, **C** and **Pit**

Pit’s accidentals in *En amer* are comparable to those in **FP**, which also shares the scoring of cantus-tenor-contratenor: all the Machaut manuscripts give four voices for this work, while the triplum also appears in **PR**.

En amer was transmitted as part of the *Remede* in the Pepys manuscript;⁸⁴ despite the date of this source, copied after 1400, the reading resembles those of **C** and **E** in its cantus rhythm at b.1 and b.4; all four voices are given. Accidentals are generally close to those in **C** and **E** though identical to neither, while being notably unlike those in **Vg** and **B**. The work also appears for three voices in **K**, alongside *Dame de qui*: this source, consisting almost exclusively of Machaut’s narrative and lyric poetry, is dated “Friday, 2nd week of April, 1371”. The manuscript was examined by Jacques Handschin, who noted that it was evidently copied for a connoisseur of literature rather than music:

“Es scheint demnach, daß unsere Handschrift auf einen Liebhaber berechnet war, der auf die Musik wenig Wert legte oder dessen Aufführungsmittel beschränkte waren.”⁸⁵

⁸³ Nádas 1985, 288

⁸⁴ Fenlon 1982, facsimile facing page 103

8.5 Keyboard arrangements in the Faenza Codex

The Faenza Codex is one of very few surviving sources of fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century keyboard arrangements.⁸⁶ (The earlier Robertsbridge Codex, which contains arrangements of two motets from the *Roman de Fauvel*, is notated partly in tablature, as well as giving texts,⁸⁷ though occasional instrumental arrangements were included in song collections such as **Str**, **PR** and the Groningen fragment.)⁸⁸

Fa may have originated in the Ferrara monastery where it was discovered – possibly, as Strohm suggested, compiled by “a Carmelite friar of Ferrara, who played polyphonic keyboard music in church as well as for entertainment, for example in aristocratic houses.”⁸⁹ Its forty-eight works include sixteen with (somewhat garbled) French titles, nearly the same number with Italian incipits, and ten based on plainchants; the French works include *Hont paur* (B25), *De tout flors* (B31) and Pierre de Molins’ *De ce fol penser*, as well as two nearly identical readings of the anonymous *Jour a jour la vie*, their titles rendered as *Jour mour lanie* and *Iorlevie*.

These arrangements frequently transposed the original song by a fifth to avoid sharps (presumably because of difficulties in keyboard tuning); the lower part retained the outline of the tenor, sometimes simplified, with alterations to the rhythm, or with sustained notes replaced by repeated ones. As Plamenac noted, not all songs were arranged in the same style, with French works differing from Italian ones – the latter tended to employ more complex rhythms.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Handschin 1923, 1 (“It appears, however, that our manuscript was intended for a connoisseur, who placed less value upon the music, or whose materials were restricted.”)

⁸⁶ Edition: Plamenac 1972; facsimile, Carapetyan 1961

⁸⁷ GB-Lbl add. 28850. Craig Wright speculated that there might be a connection between the Robertsbridge Codex, King John of France’s imprisonment by the English (1357-60) and his taste for keyboard music (Wright 1979, 16n29).

⁸⁸ Van Daalen and Harrison 1984. Works found in the fragment include two songs found in ‘lateral’ sources, the rondeau *Esperance qui en mon coeur s’en bat* and virelai *Mais qu’il vous viengne*.

⁸⁹ Strohm 1993, 91

⁹⁰ Plamenac 1951, 187

Hont paur (37r-37v) was transposed up a fifth, its upper line decorated with passing-notes, neighbour-notes and *cambiate*. The lower stave followed Machaut's tenor: it ignored points at which the contratenor undercut it in the chanson, except for one point (b.12) at which a fourth would have been created between tenor and cantus; here the lower note was altered. This work is notated with a consistent \flat -b signature in the lower of the two staves, typical of fifteenth- rather than fourteenth-century signatures (and perhaps also linked to the score format); allowing for transposition, the contrapuntal structure of the work remained largely unchanged, though relatively few accidentals were notated:

Ex. 8.21 *Honte, paour*, **FP**, b.1-7, and *Hont paur*, **Fa**, b.1-8

8.6 Repertory sources: a summary

The range of variants examined above must indicate that a number of Machaut's songs, if a decreasing number, were performed until several decades after his death; clearly, they were sufficiently esteemed to attract new voices and arrangements which aligned them with current tastes. However, while Machaut was evidently known as a poet and composer in French court circles, the majority of these repertory sources did not ascribe songs to him, and his best-known works appeared (like most fourteenth-century songs still circulating in the fifteenth century) to have been known by their text incipits rather than by the name of their composer, even where the text was not transmitted.

The range of accidentals notated in certain sources appears to have been affected by the skill or training of the performers for whom they were intended: for example, accidentals were clearly added to **FP** to ensure correct inflections, while the comparatively low number of accidentals in **Ch** may have reflected the skill of the intended singers. Occasionally, the subsequent addition of accidentals (appearing in a

different hand) suggests that the source had been used by performers who required assistance in adding unwritten contrapuntal inflections. In other sources, scribal practice at an earlier stage determined the accidentals notated: this may have been true of **PR**, in that a number of its exemplars appear to have given remarkably few accidentals. The latest sources, such as **Pg**, give only cantus, tenor and incipit, suggesting that they were notated as an aid to instrumental performance; the preservation in **Fa** of an arrangement of a type more often improvised than written down may attest to this.

Given the range of sources in which Machaut's songs survive, it is clear that a small number of them entered the repertory of mostly anonymous fourteenth-century songs which remained in circulation well into the fifteenth – often being copied into sources in what Strohm termed 'lateral' territories (such as the Low Countries or parts of Italy) when the 'central' areas had long replaced them with more up-to-date repertoire.

9: Conclusion

In Machaut's music, as in fourteenth-century polyphony in general, the majority of inflections were made in the context of *contrapunctus*. The number and accuracy of accidentals notated in different readings of the same piece could vary considerably, indicating that performers were expected to know which inflections were required, and demonstrating also that accidentals were greatly affected by scribal practice. This variation suggests that, within certain limits, some degree of choice was available to the performer, at least in the use of inflections that did not affect a work's contrapuntal structure. Margaret Bent, in writing on renaissance and medieval notation, has warned of creating 'over-specific' transcriptions:

“Renaissance notation is under-prescriptive by our standards; when translated into modern form it acquires a prescriptive weight that overspecifies and distorts its original openness.”¹

This applies equally to the notation of the Machaut manuscripts, and it has been one of the main aims of this thesis to arrive at a better understanding of the extent and nature of that “under-prescription”. The following paragraphs extract from my findings those that most clearly contribute towards such an objective.

9.1 The Machaut manuscripts

It has already been seen that the notation of accidentals might be influenced by a scribe's training, the region in which he worked, the material from which he was copying, and the presence (or absence) of a supervising composer; differences in the scribal practice with regard to accidentals have been noted even between manuscripts A

¹ Bent 1998, 25

and F-G, which in other respects appear to be closely related. The principal characteristics of accidental notation in the Machaut manuscripts are outlined below:

9.1.1 Manuscript C

The notation of accidentals in **CI**, the first part of the manuscript, is generally precise, placing *b-quadratum* and *b-rotundum* accurately in terms of their vertical position; the placing of accidentals well in advance of the note they inflect is more common in **CI** and **CII** than in later Machaut manuscripts. Fewer accidentals in **CI** appear anomalous than in later manuscript; signs on pitches not normally inflected, such as the cantus #-d in b.7 of *Riches d'amour* (B5), may sometimes be found to have been omitted in later sources. Compared to the later Machaut manuscripts, a very high concentration of *b-rotundum* signatures is found among **CI**'s virelais; elsewhere in **CI**, signatures are notated slightly more often than in the later manuscripts.

The notation of accidentals in **C**'s reading of the *Remede de Fortune* is less consistent, despite this work's painstaking presentation and illustration: in some chansons, particularly *En amer* and *Dame de qui*, more contrapuntal inflections are notated than in most of the other Machaut sources, while in others (such as *Dame mon cuer*), fewer are given. This might well be due to the likely copying procedure for long poems with musical interpolations, such as the *Remede* or the *Voir Dit*; it is likely that the music would not have been included in the poem's exemplar, but might be copied from separate fascicles or sheets – which may not always have been as closely edited as the larger exemplars from which the main music sections of the Machaut manuscripts were copied.

In **CII**, the latter part of the manuscript, accidentals indicating standard contrapuntal progressions are less accurately notated than in **CI**; **CII** also has more scribal errors of all types than **CI**. This part of **C** may be the closest extant source to Machaut's drafts. It is worth noting that, compared to some late-fourteenth century Low Countries sources, **CI** and particularly **CII** notate fewer accidentals; this may suggest that Machaut was working closely with performers who were familiar with his style.

whom he was able to instruct as necessary – or may indicate that the composer's drafts were not so consistently signed as a prepared exemplar would be.

9.1.2 Manuscripts Vg and B

Numerous characteristics of notation are common to both **Vg** and **B**. Both give contrapuntal inflections implied but not marked in **C**, while also retaining **C**'s. Both manuscripts tend to notate 'leading-note' #s at cadential points; this may be related to **Vg**'s evident function as a resource for performance (which is also indicated by ordering letters in the *formes fixes*). Both manuscripts also have an occasional tendency to use ♭ (-b) as a cancellation sign following #-f. As regards the vertical positioning of accidentals, both sources show some inaccuracy. Few variants of any sort are found in the virelais, compared with **C**. A few anomalous accidentals are found only in **Vg** and **B**; most of these are attributable to scribal error.

Signatures are notated less consistently in **Vg** and **B** than in **C**: in the preparation of the exemplar, however, some accidentals appear to have been aligned with the beginning of the stave, giving them the appearance of signatures. A significant number of contrapuntal inflections are notated in both **Vg**'s and **B**'s reading of the *Remede*, without duplicating all of **C**'s.

Vg only: In a very few places – just two among the *formes fixes* – **Vg** notates ♮ (the modern natural sign) for *b-quadratum*, rather than #.

B only: **B**'s notation of accidentals has a number of idiosyncrasies. Principal among these are: vertically misplaced accidentals, more common in **B** than **Vg**; a small number of accidentals appearing in **Vg** but omitted from **B** (concentrated among the virelais); and a very small but significant number of accidentals unique to **B**. **B**'s signatures are occasionally placed at slightly different points along the stave from **Vg**'s. The manuscript's numerous scribal errors do not occur only in its notation of accidentals, but in pitch and other aspects of copying. One direct contradiction is found between the two sources, in which **B** notates a # for **Vg**'s ♭ – this occurs in the contratenor of *Dame de qui*.

9.1.3 Manuscripts A and F-G

A and **F-G** have been considered together because of the marked similarities in their notation of accidentals. These include: the addition of numerous ‘contrapuntal’ inflections which do not appear in **C**, **Vg** or **B**; a significant number of accidentals common to **C**, **A** and **F-G**, most notably in the virelais and the *Remede*; and a number of vertical misplacements of accidentals also common to **C**, **A** and **F-G**. Few misplacements appear only in these two sources, however. In both **A** and **G** the use of signatures is generally ‘pragmatic’ rather than consistent (as in **Vg** and **B**).

A only: Numerous contrapuntal accidentals are unique to **A**; these frequently occur where a musical repetition has been written out in full. However, a smaller number that do appear in other sources are omitted in **A**. This source also contains a number of unique vertical misplacements. Unusually among the Machaut manuscripts, a few signatures are omitted, the \flat s being repositioned as accidentals.

F-G only: A small number of contrapuntal accidentals are unique to **G**; and of those accidentals generally notated in the Machaut manuscripts, **F-G** omits fewer than **A**. **G** notates fewer vertical misplacements than **A**; however, the *Remede*, in **F**, contains more. Occasionally, an accidental is notated at the very end of a stave when it applies to a pitch at the beginning of the following stave; virelais are sometimes notated with a signature on the first stave only, though the same inflection appears to apply to all staves. **G** contains a small but significant number of anomalous accidentals which cannot be explained as survivors from short-score notation.

9.1.4 Manuscript E

Given **E**’s unusual composition, discussed in Chapter VII, it appears most likely that its scribe copied accurately, but indiscriminately, from exemplars of wildly disparate degrees of accuracy; the manuscript’s principal idiosyncrasy is the frequent vertical misplacement of accidentals, particularly where they have been preplaced.

9.2 Accidentals in repertory manuscripts

Repertory sources differ widely in their approach to the notation of accidentals. It might be expected that manuscripts copied chronologically and geographically closer to Machaut would retain more of the accidentals appearing in the central sources; while this appears to be true in the case of manuscripts originating in the Low Countries (such as **Tg** and **Utr**), others sources originating further from the composer's circle, such as **ModA**, can prove to be surprisingly close to the notation of the Machaut manuscripts. The transmission of such sources may be linked to the movement of Flemish and French musicians to northern Italy at the end of the fourteenth century and start of the fifteenth.

It is possible that certain variants in repertory sources, and even certain accidentals, originated with Machaut or his circle. In comparing the central Machaut manuscripts with nearly contemporary sources from the Low Countries (some readings from which may have found their way back into **E**) it is remarkable that some of these notate more accidentals than the central Machaut manuscripts. While this is most likely to be the result of careful editing on the part of scribes, it is also possible that drafts of songs had been released as 'performing copies' for singers outside the composer's immediate circle who may have needed slightly more information, in the form of additional accidentals; sources such as **Gt** and **Utr** may have been destined for singers less accustomed to Machaut's music than the intended recipients of, for example, **Vg**. The profusion of accidentals notated in **FP** certainly appears to have been intended to clarify every implied inflection, perhaps for singers untrained in the style. However, other sources, notably **PR**, notate far fewer accidentals; Elizabeth Leach has referred to the Machaut manuscripts, in comparison with such sources, as "oversigned",² though it might equally be said that **PR** and similar sources were 'under-signed'.

² Leach 1997, 85n20; see also above, 168

9.3 Vocal scoring

While the repertory sources present numerous variants in the scoring of Machaut's songs, other variant scorings had already appeared in the Machaut manuscripts: the earliest examples were the blank triplum staves which appeared in some of **C**'s early ballades, and which were not subsequently removed in **VgB** or **A**. **CII** also contained several such variants, some indicating works in an unfinished state – such as B22, of which only the cantus is given in **CII** – and others in alternative but viable readings; V29, for example, appeared as a monophonic work in **CII** before its two-part reading was given in **VgB** and later sources. However, readings in the Machaut manuscripts did not necessarily present all the voices which existed at the time of copying: **A** gives a two-part (Ca-T) reading of R1, although this work had already appeared in **C**, **Vg** and **B** for cantus-tenor-triplum. While these variant scorings may have had different explanations – compositional or layout problems, or lack of available materials – they show that alternative readings did exist among Machaut's papers, even where they may not have been in circulation outside his immediate circle or his workshop.

While some of these readings add a voice to a pre-existing voice or voices, others give a substitute for a voice, frequently a contratenor to be substituted for an earlier triplum. This may suggest a solution to otherwise problematic readings of four-part works: where prominent dissonances occur between contratenor and triplum, it is possible that the work was intended for performance in one of two three-part scorings (as has been noted in connection with B21); more immediately relevant to this study is the possibility that such alternative readings may also explain certain accidentals, such as B21's triplum #-g in **B**.³

A greater number of alternative scorings is found in repertory sources of Machaut's chansons, which frequently supplied new voices to adapt songs to the prevailing late-fourteenth century preference for three-part scoring with contratenor – and in manuscript **E**. While some of these, such as **ModA**'s contratenor to R7 or **PR**'s

³ See Ex. 5.18, 140

triplum to B22, are clearly later additions, it is not impossible that a small proportion of those voices first appearing in **E** (such as the contratenors to R7 and B4) did originate with Machaut.

9.4 Reception and transmission

While more details than accidental variants alone are necessary to plot transmission groups, variants in the notation of accidentals can be detected regionally, chronologically and scribally (that is, within a particular source). However, certain of these may, as Nádas suggested, be more indicative of reception than transmission. It is notable that, while a relatively small group of Machaut's songs was evidently widely transmitted, the majority remain unknown in repertory sources. Specific cases might have been affected by literary as well as musical criteria; for example, interest in the narrative poem, *Remede de Fortune*, could encompass or encourage an interest in its music. This appears to have been the case in **K** and **Pe**, though not in **Pm**, which substituted Machaut's best-known songs for the *Remede*'s own music. However, it appears to be less true of the works included in the *Voir Dit*: while B34 is found in **Ch**, **PR** and (vestigially) **SL**, B32 is known outside the Machaut manuscripts only in **Utr**.

Of the remaining chansons, no virelais have been traced in any repertory source, while only one of the early group of two-part ballades B1-16 is found outside the Machaut manuscripts. This is B4: its previous appearance in **E** with an incomplete contratenor suggests that it was in circulation, perhaps in an 'unauthorised' reading, by the last decade of the fourteenth century. However, the early ballades, or at least their texts, do appear to have been known in some circles; Matteo da Perugia, who had also written a contratenor for *Se vous n'estes* (R7), set the text of B15 in a composition of his own. In the case of extremely wide-spread works such as *Se vous n'estes*, the sequential (and thus easily memorised) nature of the melody may have helped to increase its

popularity; the same may have been true of Pierre de Molins' equally widely-known *De ce que fols pense*.⁴

Other chansons, such as *Quant Theseus/ Ne quier veoir* (B34), may have been copied for didactic purposes, because of the virtuosity of their counterpoint. However, explanations for the popularity of *De petit peu* and *De fortune* are less obvious; it may be that they were simply the works that Machaut released to performers outside his circle, or those that circulated without the composer's authority, and this might explain their acquisition of additional but contrapuntally unsuccessful voices. Variant readings of *Se vous n'estes* in **E** and **Gt** consistently take a different version from the central Machaut sources, while **CaB** is somewhere between the two: this suggests that 'alternative' readings appear to have been in circulation from a relatively early stage, perhaps arising from scribal errors, alterations made in performance or circulating draft versions.

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This study has emphasized the effect of external factors, such as scribal training, or the need to instruct less skilled performers, on the notation of accidentals – factors which it is possible to isolate in a group of sources as controlled as the Machaut manuscripts. Throughout, I have taken the interpretation of accidentals in the Machaut manuscripts as being based in *contrapunctus*, with the effect of raising or lowering pitch (within certain limits) – rather than placing them within a larger hexachordal or modal framework. Machaut's scribes, where they appear to have been supervised, copied and edited with great accuracy and skill; this may be observed in the contrast between accidental notation in those manuscripts thought to have been compiled close to the composer's circle – **C**, **Vg** and **A** – and the other manuscripts of Machaut's collected works, **B**, **F-G** and **E**.

Observations on scribal practice in these central sources could be of use in the preparation of editions, particularly in conjunction with the detailed study of variants

⁴ The song appears in eleven sources: **CaB** (twice, with two different tripla), **Ch**, **FP**, **Gt**, GB-Lbl 41667, Munich D-Mbs 15611, **Pit**, **PR**, **Trem**, **Str**, and a wall-hanging (Paris, Musée des Arts).

undertaken by Alison Bullock, and the contrapuntal analysis of Elizabeth Leach: while variants in the repertory sources may give an indication of the reception of those works that were known outside the composer's immediate circle. Whether applied to anthology manuscripts or to those of Machaut's collected works, I hope that some of the observations above may be useful in the further interpretation and understanding of Machaut's musical language and its notation.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used below:

Series – Theory

- AIM** Publications of the American Institute of Musicology
- CS** *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi Nova Series a Gerbertina Altera*, 4 vols, ed. Edmond de Coussemaker. Paris: Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, 1864-76
- CSM** *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*: ed. Gilbert Reaney. Rome: Publications of the American Institute of Musicology
- GS** *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica Sacra Potissimum*, 3 vols, ed. Martin Gerbert. St. Blaise: 1784; reprint, Milan: Bolletino Bibliografico Musicale, 1931
- MSD** *Musicological Studies and Documents*. Rome: American Institute of Musicology

Series – Music

- CMM** *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*. Rome: Publications of the American Institute of Musicology
- PMFC** *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*: general editors Leo Schrade, Kurt von Fischer and Ian Bent. Monaco: Editions L'Oiseau-Lyre
- RISM** *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales*. München-Duisburg: G. Henlé

Journals

- AcM** *Acta Musicologica*
- AMw** *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*
- EM** *Early Music*
- EMH** *Early Music History*
- JAMS** *Journal of the American Musicological Society*
- JM** *Journal of Musicology*
- JMT** *Journal of Music Theory*
- Mf** *Die Musikforschung*
- MD** *Musica Disciplina*
- MQ** *The Musical Quarterly*
- TVNM** *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*

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